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THE BUSINESS OUTLOOK.

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CHARLES STEWART SMITH, ESQ.:

THE qualities of a ship and the efficiency of its officers and crew are tested and determined by a typhoon and not by fair winds and bright skies, and this is equally true of all financial institutions that seek public confidence.

Figuratively speaking, the "typhoon" test has been applied during the past few months to the banks forming the Clearing-House Association of this city, and the way in which they have weathered the storm of the recent panic can only excite admiration and reflect credit upon them and upon their management. I do not hesitate to say that during this period this country has experienced a financial, commercial and industrial strain that is without parallel for severity and force in our financial history since the year 1837.

My present purpose is to call attention to the manner in which

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the banks of New York were conducted during these perilous days, and to show how they passed through the ordeal and at the same time extended a service to the business community that saved it from untold embarrassments. The discussion of this subject, I believe, to be timely, for the reason that an unwise disposition is shown in some quarters to disparage our National Banking System and to favor the establishment generally of State Banks, which proved so unsatisfactory in ante-bellum days.

I deem it proper at the outset to state that the recent panic was not the result of over-trading, undue speculation or the violation of business principles throughout the country. In my judgment it is to be attributed to unwise legislation with respect to the silver question; it will be known in history as "The Silver Panic," and will constitute a reproach and an accusation against the common sense, if not the common honesty, of our legislators who are responsible for our present monetary laws. Observers abroad and clear-headed financiers at home predicted with absolute certainty the disasters which have overtaken us, and no great prophetic vision was required to anticipate the conditions which have so recently prevailed throughout the United States.

The Right Hon. William Lidderdale, Governor of the Bank of England during the panic of 1890, and an authority of the highest character in all matters pertaining to finance, addressed a communication under date of September 6 last to a friend* in New York, in which he said:

"The worst of your financial crisis has, I trust, been passed. In severity it seems to me to have far exceeded anything seen in the present century in the United States. The New York banks have, I think, shown financial management of a very high order, conspicuously so in the way they have stood shoulder to shoulder and supported credit. They have set a good example in this last respect to our bankers here, one which I trust will bear fruit."

One of the ablest men in the South writes as follows:

"I am glad to notice that the financial condition in New York seems to be growing brighter, and I trust that your banks there will soon begin to enjoy their reward for this desperate struggle which they have made to maintain the credit of the country and preserve it from financial ruin. I cannot express too earnestly my appreciation of the great work which your banks have done in this emergency, for without the sacrifices and inconveniences to which they have subjected themselves there is no telling how

* Alex. E. Orr, Esq.

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much trouble would have befallen the country at large. The present condition of the country, whereby it has been saved from financial disaster, is owing in large measure to the generous and heroic efforts of our New York banks."

In addition to the above testimony, I have in my possession a number of letters of like import from all sections of the country, but the foregoing communications will serve to show that the efforts of the New York banks to relieve the situation are recognized and appreciated. It is not too much to say that, had it not been for the concerted action of our metropolitan banks, a large number of worthy firms and institutions would have experienced serious disaster.

The figures below are significant and suggestive.

During the six months ending September 1, 1893, five banks in the city of New York loaned to the West and South exclusively the sum of $46,202,300. And the same institutions during the time specified sent to the same sections gold and currency amounting in the aggregate to $21,241,400.

Very large amounts were also loaned and currency shipped to the Middle and New England States. One of these banks sent during the same time $2,500,000 in currency to New England to pay the help in the mills. Another purchased in the open market, in the very height of the panic, $2,500,000 of commercial paper, which afforded great relief and enabled some concerns that were solvent, but pressed for funds, to sustain their credit.*

In the meantime, it should be borne in mind, the deposits of the New York banks were enormously reduced, as the following figures will show: On June, 18, 1892, the deposits of the associated banks of New York reached the highest point in that year, aggregating $543,663,100, whereas on August 19, 1893, they had fallen off to $370,302,400 (the lowest point reached in the present year thus far)—a reduction of $173,360,700 !

This exhibit bears striking testimony to the stability of the banks and the conservatism and foresight of their management.

The National Banking System grew out of the necessities of our Civil War. It was the creation of wise men, and has proved for this country the safest and most satisfactory system of banking ever devised. Of course, it is not without defects, one of

* It will be noticed that I have given the statistics of only five of the 64 banks connected with the Clearing House, and it is fair to say that the institutions selected are among the largest in the New York Clearing-House Association.

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which is common to all systems and offers the most difficult problem in connection with banking; to wit, a lack of "elasticity," or the power to increase the volume of currency in times of financial stringency, and to contract the same when the strain is over.

In order to meet this difficulty the United States Treasury Department has on several occasions anticipated the interest upon government bonds or has purchased the bonds in the open market. This latter relief on the part of the Government, however, is an affair of the past and cannot enter into future calculations.

The New York Clearing-House Association, which is composed of the associated banks, has in times of great financial peril acted with promptitude, and its governing committee has shown a degree of efficiency that seems to have been inspired by the genius of finance. During the forty years of its existence this association has upon six occasions exercised extraordinary powers in the issuance of loan certificates in order to avert public calamities, the wisdom of which proceeding has been amply justified by the universal expressions of approbation on the part of the business world.

The dates and amounts of loan certificates issued by the New York Clearing House are as follows:

1860	$7,375,000
1862	22,585,000
1873	26,565,000
1884	24,915,000
1890	16,645,000
1893	41,490,000

These amounts, although only used in settling Clearing-House balances due by the several banks to each other, at the same time virtually added to the currency of the country and enabled the banks to extend just so much more financial aid to the community.

Not a dollar has ever been lost, or ever can be, by these transactions so long as the present rules and regulations which govern the issue of certificates are adhered to, the $130,000,000 capital and surplus of the associated banks being pledged for the redemption of these certificates. The adaptability of loan certificates to a crisis is demonstrated by their rapid cancellation and retirement immediately after the occasion of their issue has passed.

The names of the gentlemen who compose the Loan Committee of the New York Clearing House are household words. They

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are men of ability, experience and judgment, and are entitled to the profound gratitude of the entire country for the conspicuous fidelity and skill with which they have performed their arduous and absolutely gratuitous labors in connection with this great crisis, which, since the emphatic vote of the House of Representatives in favor of the repeal of the Sherman law, is rapidly passing away.

Before this article is published it is believed that the Senate will have concurred in the repeal of the odious silver bill, which is so largely responsible for the widespead disaster we have experienced of late. The delay in the Senate after the expression of the will of the people is certainly not creditable to the wisdom of that body, and it is to be earnestly hoped that it will not longer retard a return to business prosperity.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

CHARLES G. WILSON, ESQ.:

THE panic which has had the disastrous effect of causing one hundred and fifty-four national banks to suspend payment during the past six months, and from the effects of which the business of the United States is still suffering, has been marked by several unique features. While not as severe in its results as the great panic of 1857 it was far more sudden. It startled us like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky. Our cheers for the foreign war ships which came to compliment us on our prosperity and material greatness had barely ceased when it seemed as though the business of the country had been stricken with paralysis. Failure and suspension succeeded suspension and failure as the days went by, until the business men were amazed at a condition of affairs for which it was difficult to find any, much less adequate, causes. These causes are now, however, easily understood.

Under the Sherman act the United States alone of the nations of the earth established and maintained an artificial value for certain prescribed amounts of silver purchased by it each month. Those who are ordinarily called "the silver men," not being satisfied with the existing condition of affairs, carried on during 1892 under the leadership of Senator Stewart an active propaganda in favor of free coinage for the white metal. While this

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did not result in legislation such as they desired, it had the effect of bringing to the front the advocates of the gold standard. It is a curious fact that when any financial question is widely discussed the body of the people gather the most strange and erroneous ideas from the discussion; for with the grains of scientific finance contributed by those who have studied, there is more than the proverbial bushel of chaff supplied by the theorists who depend upon imagination for their premises and upon fancy for their conclusions. The one idea which was firmly fixed in the minds of the majority of the people as the result of the free coinage propaganda was the alleged necessity of maintaining a certain gold balance in the Treasury, the amount of which balance had become traditionary. As a matter of fact it is absurd to suppose that the credit of the United States depends on the presence of $100,000,000 in gold in the Treasury or that its credit is in danger when there are but $90,000,000.

In the ordinary course of business it became necessary in the spring to pay heavy balances abroad. The merchants applied to their banks for gold simply because, gold being the standard across the water, gold had to be paid. The drain on gold reduced the balance in the Treasury and the people became alarmed. Now, while it is perfectly true that the United States is rich enough to have safely continued for a long time the monthly purchases of silver under the Sherman act, neither the United States nor any other government is sufficiently strong to continue doing that which the majority of the people *believe* will bankrupt it. If the $4,500,000 bullion per month had been thrown into the sea the United States would not have become bankrupt, because its resources are too great. But, unfortunately, the people believed the government would not be able to maintain gold payments if the purchases of silver continued. The usual result of a fear about money followed. Cautious people withdrew their deposits from the banks and placed them in safe deposit vaults or on special deposit. At once the money market became stringent, the values of securities fell, and the banks in order to save themselves were forced to increase the evil by hoarding money. Nor was this all. The savings banks felt what was going on in the shape of a falling off of deposits. Like the rolling snowball the panic became greater until the people were in a spasm of fear.

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The Democratic party came into power last fall with a "tariff for revenue" plank in its platform. The people gave to it the President, the Senate and the House. As it is pledged, it must bring in a tariff bill this winter, which shall be different from the McKinley tariff now in force. This is equivalent to saying that it must bring in a bill which will change existing values to a greater or less extent, and at the present time the extent of these changes is unknown. It is but repeating the alphabet of finance to say that any certain but unknown change in values in the near future will make men cautious. As the change in the tariff may affect all manufacturers and merchants and as it is certain to affect some of them, and as no man knows his business will not be affected, it follows that all must wait until they can see the bill. This influence in the community would have been of itself sufficient to make business men conservative in their operations during the summer. In the examination of the panic the tariff outlook appears not as a cause, which it was not, but as an influence intensifying the effect of the general distrust caused by the mistaken belief in the immediate danger of the continued purchases of silver.

As the cause of the panic was a lack of confidence among the people, so the remedies applied by financiers took two forms: First, in a direct effort to restore confidence, as when the banks of the city of New York acted in concert with each other in supporting credit; Second, in an effort to restrain the people from acting on their lack of confidence, as when the savings banks required from their depositors 30 or 60 days' notice before deposits could be withdrawn. To these two measures is directly owing the fact that the panic was not far more disastrous than it proved to be.

It is with pleasure I notice the improvement which is making itself felt. This is shown by the fact that the premium on currency has disappeared. Fortunately, too, Europe is commencing to take our securities at an increased price, and this results in gold coming our way. It is also cheering to find that small investors are beginning to show themselves in our markets and are releasing their hoarded money. These things merely mean that confidence is returning, and the change began when the House passed the Wilson Bill to repeal the Sherman Act. If the Senate would also pass it we would have general confidence once

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more, and the conservatism, which is the result of prospective changes in the tariff, would be of small moment.

Personally I am a bi-metallist, provided the nations of the world unite in bi-metallism. But I cannot as a student of the science of finance delude myself into the belief that the United States alone can create and maintain an artificial price for silver. That which is a commodity among all civilized nations cannot be anything but a commodity here, nor can we afford to pay the difference between the market value and an artificial value on the silver product of the world. We are not rich enough. We must pay our balances in commerce with other nations in that coin or article or commodity which they will take, and just so long as they demand gold, gold they must have.

The lesson taught by the panic of 1893, however, is not that the United States lacks the power to stand alone among civilized nations in her financial methods. It is something far deeper, far more important. The panic has proved the danger to ourselves of having two currencies, one which other nations will accept, and another which passes only among ourselves. It is folly of the blindest sort to shut our eyes to facts, and the fact taught by this panic is that just as long as every American dollar is not worth one hundred cents everywhere in the civilized world, just so long is there a danger that Americans will themselves become distrustful of the credit of their government. It would not be easy to count the cost of this panic, but it may be safely said it has been one of the most expensive financial operations Americans ever engaged in.

CHARLES G. WILSON.

JAMES O. BLOSS, ESQ. :

WHAT the outcome of the present financial troubles will be, it is difficult to foretell. The passage by the House of Representatives of the Wilson Repeal Bill by so large a majority, the well-settled belief that the Senate will not much longer delay its concurrence therein, and the large influx of gold, have been productive of so much relief, as shown by the disappearance of the premium on currency, lessened interest rates on call money, the release to some extent of hoarded money, and an advancing stock market, that the feeling is becoming apparent in

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almost all quarters that the tide has turned and that recuperation will be sure and progressive.

This feeling is reasonable, and will hardly be subject to disappointment unless some unforeseen set-back occurs. This possible set-back is more likely to come, if come it does, from Congress rather than elsewhere.

There is a disposition apparent now, on the part of Republican papers, in which it is noticeable that ex-Speaker Reed joins, to attribute our difficulties no less to the fear of tariff legislation than to our wretched experiment with silver; but this idea is little shared by business men in general, and in saying this I do so, not as a free-trader, but as one who believes himself a reasonable protectionist.

It is my belief that the election of November, 1892, which again placed Mr. Cleveland in the Presidential chair, has had practically no effect on manufacturing interests existing at that time; that, while the uncertainty as to what tariff legislation may be, may have deterred men from entering into new enterprises or extending old ones, it caused no stoppage of operations; on the contrary, in many lines of manufacturing the highest margin of profit obtained for years was realized on engagements entered into after the election. This certainly was true of cotton manufacturing for months after the election, and, while subsequently lesser profits were accepted, I will venture to say that not one single mill that has stopped since May 1 has done so by reason of fear of tariff revision. What, then, has been the cause of the stoppage of mills? Failing confidence begotten of our currency.

Confidence decreased as each fraction of decline in the price of silver was recorded and as each shipment of gold was made from our shores. Adverse trade conditions may have justified gold shipments; but so also, in the mind of foreign capitalists, did the condition of our currency. It certainly was not a fear of change of tariff that led to the repeated "special order" shipments of gold, and, however uncalled for it may be that any one, foreigner or citizen, should question the ability and determination of this government to pay its obligations in gold, nevertheless, with a constantly decreasing gold reserve, this questioning of the government's ability did obtain. Fear became prevalent. Hoarding of all kinds of money, whether gold,

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silver or currency, began. The banks became unable to furnish to the business community the ordinary financial accommodation necessary for the prosecution of business. This in turn begot fear of and inability to enter into new obligations, and in consequence manufactured products met a market without buyers, and many who had already bought declined to accept delivery of their purchases by reason of their inability to pay.

This, in my opinion, is the cause of mill stoppages. The row of bricks toppled over. Fear and lack of confidence in our currency started it; this occasioned exports of gold and hoarding of currency, which in turn begot stringent money conditions, with inability of business men to obtain the means for the carrying on of their affairs; thence came widespread failures, followed by cessation of purchasing and cancellation of purchases already made, resulting in an accumulation of goods which could not be turned into money, and, finally, in the stoppage of mills.

Whatever else, let us be candid. The McKinley Bill may or may not have been a good thing for the country, and the agitation incident to a new tariff bill may not be a good thing for business; but when a direct chain of causes for our present condition can be traced, do not let us, in the hope of promoting a party advantage, resort to subterfuge and inject into the difficult problem something that has nothing whatever to do with it.

I have referred to a possible set-back coming from Congress. By this I mean unwise legislation. The list of bills introduced into Congress suggests the wonder how men who possess enough individuality and capacity to have lifted them out of the common herd and made them senators or representatives can entertain such ideas as some of our statesmen do. Fancy such a law even being suggested as an Educational Bill, recently introduced, with an $800,000,000 appropriation; or an income-tax law such as is proposed in another bill which would lay a tax of 2 per cent. on incomes of $3,000 to $5,000, 5 per cent. on $5,000 to $10,000, 10 per cent. on $10,000 to $20,000, 15 per cent. on $20,000 to $30,000, 20 per cent. on $30,000 to $50,000, 30 per cent. on $50,000 to $100,000, and 40 per cent. on all over $100,000. Another startling bill is designed to increase the circulating medium by directing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue annually, at the end of each fiscal year, Treasury notes to an amount equal to the total taxes and revenues collected by the government during

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the previous year, and to replace the national bank currency by an equal amount of Treasury notes; and proposes to authorize national banks to loan money on real estate, and thereby revive one of the worst features ever connected with banking.

It is in the possibility of such bills as these becoming law that the risk of a set-back lies, and the tendency, which seems to be growing, of government's undertaking to regulate men's affairs by Anti-Option bills, and the like, is, in my opinion, a bad one, and calculated to do more harm than good. Such laws simply cripple enterprise and energy with no appreciable advantage to those for whose benefit they are ostensibly enacted.

Napoleon had such genius and ambition that it became necessary that all Europe should combine to dethrone him, but the men of finance and trade in this country are certainly not of that character that requires the community to rise up to suppress them.

There seems to be a feeling that New York and the East enjoy advantages and privileges that are denied to and are at the expense of other sections of the country, and that something must be done to resist them. It makes little difference whether the process results in any advantage to West or South so long as Eastern ideas of policy and finance are not allowed to prevail.

It would seem as though men forget that it is natural for old communities to be the possessors of more wealth than new ones, and that it is their right to enjoy that advantage. Because men have by sagacity, energy and industry, or even by inheritance, acquired fortunes, it does not follow that they are enemies of society. On the contrary, the very fact of men being possessed of means is a guarantee of good citizenship, to say nothing of the contributions they make, from their means, to the development and prosperity of those sections where capital is wanting.

It would be well for the West and South to accept the statement that New York and the East have no interests that are not interlocked with theirs, that what is harmful for one is harmful for the other, and what is beneficial for one redounds to the advantage of the other.

What is wanted is less fault-finding with other people's successes, and a candid viewing of facts as they are, whereby each one may work out his own advancement and not through agitation try to accomplish impossible things by legislation.

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The workings of cause and effect in finance and trade are as immutable as the laws of nature, and the failure of any attempt to permanently frustrate these laws is as certain as the movement of the tide or the rising and setting of the sun. A country like ours may endure unsound laws longer, without any apparent harm, than would seem possible; but the time will come when truth and logic will assert itself.

The resources and possibilities of the country are vast, and the outlook has much of promise, but we need less wild schemes of legislation and more individual effort and self-reliance.

With a speedy passage of the Repeal Bill in the Senate confidence will rapidly revive, money will come out of hiding more generally, and business take a new start. I see no reason why what we have been suffering should necessitate our going through the rotting out process that followed 1873 for six years, though it is not to be expected that we shall immediately bloom forth into great prosperity. Trade conditions abroad are reported much improved, and with the return of confidence here we should now move steadily forward.

JAMES O. BLOSS.

HENRY HENTZ, ESQ.:

IN CONSEQUENCE of the moderate supplies, the price of coffee in this country has not been materially affected by the financial troubles that we have had. The Brazilian crop for the past year was only a moderate one, following the "bumper" crop of the previous year. The expectation of the crop of 1893–94 (July 1 to July 1) being a small one has been a supporting influence. Prices early in the spring were advanced by the free buying of Mr. Kaltenbach, of Paris, who was a large holder of coffee in this country and in Europe, but, in consequence of the unfavorable financial conditions, and the fact that so much coffee was concentrated in the hands of one man, the trade purchased sparingly, believing that liquidation would have to take place, which occurred about the middle of April last in the United States and Europe, and the market declined over three cents per pound from top, but most of the decline was recovered by the middle of May, as the trade became free buyers. The business during the past

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few months has been curtailed by the stringency of the money market. Commercial paper has been practically unsalable. Local and interior dealers have bought sparingly, and are believed to hold light stocks. The retailers have also reduced their holdings.

The coffee trade has a fashion of anticipating large or small crops. It may perhaps seem strange to the outsider that estimates will soon be made for the Brazilian coffee crop that will be marketed from July 1, 1894, to July 1, 1895, and future delivery sales or purchases will be made accordingly. The "future" system has a steadying influence upon values, preventing them from going either too high or too low, and in fact its abolition would be a very disturbing feature in conducting business. Prior to the establishment of the Coffee Exchange in New York, when prices were very high, parties who were caught with large stocks on hand were practically unable to dispose of their coffee till the market had declined considerably, but with the "future" system sales can be made on the Exchange against their spot holdings, or even against shipments *en route*, thereby preventing heavy losses, or perhaps failure.

Brazil furnishes about 60 per cent. of the coffee consumed in Europe and the United States. The United States is a very large consumer of coffee; of the deliveries for the year ending June 30 last, about 11,000,000 bags, Europe took 60 per cent. and the United States 40 per cent.

In all probability coffee would have improved had it not been for the disturbing conditions caused by the Sherman silver purchase law, which nearly everybody believes has caused the want of confidence and almost general stoppage of business, as it is conceded that 95 per cent. of the business transacted is based on confidence. The large majority had in the House for the Wilson silver bill has had a good effect in commercial and financial circles. Quite a revival has taken place, but there seems to be delay in the Senate, which, if continued too long, may cause a reaction from the improved feeling. The failures that have taken place during the past few months have not indicated an unsound condition of business, as many of the houses and banks failing have shown a large surplus over their liabilities. With the silver question favorably disposed of there is no good reason why trade should not become more active. The premium on

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currency, which was at one time four per cent. to five per cent., has now disappeared.

While the statistical position of coffee is very favorable, and it is probable that the supply will be small for the twelve months, ending June 30 next, advices have already been received here from Brazil reporting that the flowering for the Rio crop of 1894–95 so far is favorable, but flowering continues till January and February, in which months the prospects for the crop of Café das Aquas (coffee of the late summer rains—the Brazilian summer begins in December) will have more or less influence. The flowering during the Café das Aquas season has been known to add 750,000 bags to the Rio and Santos crop.

I attribute our financial troubles almost wholly to the Sherman silver purchase law. From information received from reliable sources I am satisfied that the fear of a change in the tariff has had little or nothing to do with the failures that have taken place. It may have some effect later on, when Congress takes up the matter in earnest. The fact that the situation has improved since the House passed the Wilson silver bill, and the Committee on Ways and Means are now giving a hearing to the different interests that are affected by the tariff, conclusively shows that the panic was not caused by fear of tariff legislation.

HENRY HENTZ.

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CAN EUROPE AFFORD HER ARMIES?

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

A DISTINGUISHED British financier and politician lately stated that the great nations of the continent will shortly have to choose between bankruptcy and reduction of military expenditure; and I have been asked by the Editor what I think upon the matter.

As regards the chief military countries, I am sceptical about the truth of the statement. It is, indeed, possible that Italy may reduce her expenditure upon an army, the necessity of which to her existence is far from plain to her friends, although by her policy she has made it less unnecessary than it would otherwise have been. Austria-Hungary has already begun somewhat to draw in her horns; but she cannot afford to disarm in face of Russia, and she may prove on examination to be as able to avoid bankruptcy as her rival has been. Russia was said to be hopelessly bankrupt a quarter of a century ago; and when I was much there, in 1869 and in 1870, there was a general belief that she could not stand the pace. Since that time, however, she has enormously increased her military and naval forces, and appears now, by equally general admission, to be less near bankruptcy than she was then. The armaments of Europe depend mainly upon the armaments of France, and these upon the effect produced upon French pride by the defeats of 1870, and their results in the tearing from France of unwilling provinces. France spends more upon her army than does any other power, except the British Empire, and she is rapidly coming to rival the British expenditure upon navies. Such, however, is the wealth of France that there is no immediate prospect of her ceasing to pay her way; and before she cuts down either her military or her naval expenditure she is likely to find a margin for economy in other quarters. France wastes her money recklessly upon colonial enterprises,

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upon bounties of various descriptions, upon ill-considered tariff changes, and she is a long way from being forced by any absolute necessity to reduce her war expenses. Germany keeps pace with her as far as the increase of the army is concerned, but has ceased the rapid construction of a powerful navy, which is to her a less pressing need.

The sums spent upon the Continental armies and navies are not always easy to ascertain,—partly on account of the separation of many budgets into "ordinary" and "extraordinary," and partly on account of the confusion of moneys from taxation with moneys from loan. In almost every case the expenditures greatly exceed the sums which are set down in the books of reference. I shall deal here with round figures—figures, indeed, of the roundest—for it is useless to go into small details, and I shall take an average of years, instead of the expenditure of any one period of twelve months. The British Empire spends as a rule upon defence from 250 million to 280 million dollars a year, of which the military expenditure of India, with the indirect expenditure for the sake of India on mobile land forces at home, forms the largest item. Almost the whole of this vast sum is expended out of British loans or taxes under the control of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and out of Indian taxes under the indirect control of the House of Commons through the Secretary of State, who is a member of the Government of the day. This expenditure, although vast,—although open to the reproach that it does not do more than maintain a fleet slightly superior to that of France, and an army of very small numbers,—is a fleabite as compared (in its ill effect upon the wealth of the nation) with the military expenditure of Italy, or, in a less degree, with that of the other Continental powers. The evidences of the overpressure of taxation in India itself, many as they are, are slight in comparison with those which are present in the case of Italy; and it may be assumed, therefore, that, while the taxpayers of the United Kingdom and of India may make their voices heard in insisting upon better value for their money, the expenditure will not in itself be brought to an end by bankruptcy.

The French expenditure on defence is, on the average—although it is not easy to find it in the French budget—about 200 millions of dollars, for which their government provides an army of immense numbers and of perfect readiness for

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war (hampered by the too great age of its generals, and the difficulty that a republican government lies under of getting rid of generals who are past their work) and a navy second only to our own and infinitely before that of any other power. For the reasons which I have given, it cannot be pretended that there is any immediate risk of bankruptcy in France; and not the smallest unwillingness has been shown by the French people to bear their defense expenditure. On the contrary, that expenditure has been increased in recent years by parliamentary pressure upon successive governments. France spends upon Algeria, on Annam, Tonquin and Cochin China vast sums of money, such as Great Britain has never at any time spent on any of her flourishing colonies; and the military necessities of these countries must be looked upon as constituting a considerable military weakness to France. As regards the colonial expenditure there is much difference of opinion in the country. Not a discordant note has, however, been heard with regard to the home military and naval expenditure. While France has been enormously increasing her army and navy, she has been spending vast sums upon war material, and it is estimated that the military stores of France, apart from the navy, have a capital value at the present moment of five hundred millions of dollars, to which must be added gigantic sums for ships and fortresses. The interest of the debt of France now amounts to considerably over 250 millions of dollars in the year, and it is, of course, constantly increasing, as France never makes both ends meet. But the increase in debt at the present moment is very much less than it has been in recent years, and it is possible to foresee that the French Government may be able to put an end to the creation of debt in time of peace, and to pay their way. On the whole, it must be admitted that French finance is improving instead of running down toward bankruptcy, of which there is not at present the smallest sign.

The annual cost of the German army and navy is misstated in all books of reference, and also in such official publications as the British Embassy Report on the budget of the German Empire, where it is taken at 167½ millions of dollars. We have, of course, to add to the Prussian budget the military budgets of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg; and we have to remember that there are three classes of expenditure: "ordinary expendi-

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ture," "ordinary expenditure for once," and "extraordinary expenditure." There are, however, in addition, many military and naval charges in Prussia upon civil votes. The German debts are very small. My estimate is that the total German military and naval expenditure is nearer 190 millions of dollars than the sum apparently shown by the estimates of the German Empire. It is borne with comparative ease.

When we come to the military expenditure of Russia we find in the books of reference the most fantastic figures. The rouble varies so much in value that it is very difficult to state the real amount of the military and naval expenditure of Russia, but the best estimate which I can make for it at the present moment is about 170 millions of dollars. Russia is now nearer to paying her way, in spite of famine and in spite of pestilence, than she has been for many years past. Her weak point in connection with her military expenditure is the slowness of her mobilization, while her strong point is her enormous "peace army," or force with the flag, which is, roughly speaking, double that of Germany or of France, or equal to that of the two put together. Coming to Austria-Hungary we find that which is somewhat new in connection with that country—a recent year which produced a surplus, after heavy deficits in previous years. The financial situation of Hungary is now good, and that of Austria better than it was; and in the case of Austria-Hungary, as in that of Russia, there is no reason whatever to apprehend bankruptcy. The position of Italy is the weakest of the whole of the great powers. She is the power whose war expenditure is the least easily borne, and the one whose finances stand the worst—chiefly, however, on account of her enormous debt, rather than on account of the direct pressure of her present military and naval expenditure, considered by itself. On the other hand, it is Italy which can the most easily decrease her military, if not her naval, expenditure. She is, as a fact, decreasing her expenditure; but she has still a steady deficit.

The result, then, of our examination goes to confirm the previsions with which I set out, to the effect that, with the doubtful exception of Italy, none of the Continental powers appear to be marching towards a bankruptcy well in view.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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THE WEALTH OF NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. THOMAS F. GILROY, MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

II.

THE burden of the arguments alluded to at the close of the previous paper is the constant reiteration of the groundless charge that taxes are heavier now than they were before the Democratic party regained control of the municipal government. Like almost any other accusation this is easy to make and somewhat difficult to disprove. But there are two ways in which the truth may be shown clearly, and either of them will be found to be a complete refutation of the charge. Indeed the truth is so well established that it would be almost supererogatory to enlarge on the subject if it were not for the persistency with which the contrary statements are urged, and the credit they obtain among people who do not take the pains to inform themselves.

These two ways are, first a comparison of the proportion of the tax to the population at the present time with the proportion it formerly bore; and, secondly, a comparison of the proportion of the tax to the market value of the property taxed at the present time with the proportion it formerly bore. In other words, what is the tax *per capita* now, and what was it formerly? What percentage of actual market value is demanded now as a tax, and what was demanded formerly?

The first question is easily answered. The second will be considered presently, being left unanswered only until certain other facts have been considered.

The rate of taxation *per capita* was last year about $17. It is not possible to state it exactly because the exact number of the population is not known, but it is almost correct to call it $17. In 1876 the amount, figured in the same way, by dividing the

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sum of the tax levy by the number representing the population, was about $25. These figures come within a small fraction of the exact truth, and show the comparison clearly. The comparison based on market values will be made presently.

Thus far we have been able to determine two of the main points of our subject, and to clear up some of the questions incidental to them. These two points are: First, the sum of the corporation's entire indebtedness, and, secondly, the amount of its income from taxation. Before proceeding to the question of expenditures it is necessary to consider the estate—real and personal—of which the city is possessed. It has already been said that it is a practical impossibility to estimate the values of these belongings as a whole with even approximate accuracy, but there are facts from which we can deduce an idea, valuable even if somewhat vague, of the sum total. It is only possible to accomplish this by making as close an estimate as may be of some of the items, and then recalling the extent to which the city has multiplied such items.

In 1871 a commission was appointed to appraise the property owned by the city, and while it is true that they failed to arrive at any exact sum, the result of their labors (which were continued for months) was to give a reliable estimate of the value of the main items. Since that time no such commission has been appointed and the figures they reported form, therefore, the only acceptable basis for an estimate at present.

This commission was composed of three well-known experts in real estate values, namely, Messrs. Anthony J. Bleecker, Courtlandt Palmer and Adrian H. Muller. A summary of what they reported is here taken as the basis referred to. It reads:

Central Park, 11,000 lots at $10,000 each (in round numbers, say)	$110,000,000
Twenty smaller parks and places	33,000,000
Ten public markets	5,000,000
City lots not in public use	4,000,000
Water lots and Brooklyn lots	1,500,000
Seventy piers North and East Rivers	5,000,000
Croton Aqueduct	100,000,000
Fire department—land, buildings and equipment	3,500,000
Police stations and land	1,500,000
Public education—school houses and lots	6,000,000
Courts, prisons and islands	7,500,000
Total	$277,000,000

The first reflection, on examining this table is, that even if it should be assumed as a fair statement of all the city owns to-day, the amount is ample to secure a far larger debt than the city

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owes. Real estate will readily carry a mortgage of 60 per cent. or 70 per cent., or even 75 per cent. of its appraised value, and the money-lender is well satisfied with his security. At that rate, then, the city could offer ample real estate security for a debt of $200,000,000, or twice as much as it owes at the present time, even assuming the value of its possessions to be no greater than it was in 1871.

But, in the twenty odd years that have since elapsed, the value of real estate in New York has greatly increased, and the amount of the holdings of the city has been enlarged to an enormous extent. Not only are the individual pieces of property appraised by Messrs. Bleecker, Palmer and Muller worth more than they then were, but the city has been a large buyer almost throughout the entire period since the work of the commission was performed.

Our older citizens will readily remember that the southern boundary of Central Park was then practically the northern boundary of the thickly settled portion of the city. The three villages of Yorkville, Harlem and Manhattanville had grown, it is true, but they were considered "out of town." The vacant lots surrounding the Central Park had little more than a speculative or future value. To-day a line of magnificent residences is stretching around it and rapidly lengthening, so that in the near future the city's first great pleasure ground will be surrounded with palaces. Certainly, no one will venture to dispute that if the 11,000 building lots in the park were worth $10,000 each in 1871 they are certainly worth $20,000 apiece now. That item at least has doubled in value.

As to the other parks, there were then twenty; there are now fifty. The city has expended considerably more than $12,000,000 alone in the purchase of new ones, not taking into consideration the money that has been invested in improvements, not one dollar of which has failed to secure a return in steadily growing value. It would not, perhaps, be fair to assume that the "twenty smaller parks" have doubled in value, as Central Park has done. At all events it would not be conservative to do so. But, considering the additions and the expenditures that have been made, it is certainly within bounds to say that if our twenty parks were worth 33 millions in 1871, our fifty parks are worth 50 millions in 1893. It must be remembered, too, that this value is not merely the investment in the land itself, as that land might

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be capable of being cut up into building lots. For, if such a view were taken, the item of park grounds would be an asset on which the city would never be likely to realize. The chief value lies in the enhancement of neighboring real estate, and the consequent increase of the tax roll. How enormously profitable all this is to the city can only be estimated by analysis of the books of the Tax Department, which analysis, even, would necessarily be too voluminous for insertion here. Neither is a catalogue of the new parks needed. Our citizens will remember the principal ones, and the effect they have already had on the neighborhoods in which they are located.

It will be remembered, however, by every one who is in any degree familiar with the recent history of the city, that the entire chain of parks north of the Harlem River has been acquired within a very few years past. This extensive possession of the city has only been recently planned, and the $9,000,000 which was paid outright for the acquisition of the land is an item that might well have swelled the sum of the city's indebtedness, since the purchase money, like many other large expenditures within the same period, was provided for by the issue of city bonds. Notwithstanding these issues, however, the city debt has materially decreased, as we have seen.

These new parks in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards, and in Westchester County, together with the Jeannette and Rutgers parks down town, and the extensive additions to the East River Park, and the great Riverside and Morningside parks along the Hudson, are of themselves enough to justify the increase made in the present estimate over the figures of the commission of 1871.

The next largest item on the list is the Croton Aqueduct property. That which the Commission valued at a hundred millions of dollars was what is known now as the Old Aqueduct, with its reservoirs and distribution service. That still remains in its entirety, and performs an unimpaired service, while the demand of the city for water has more than doubled, and the additional supply is drawn from the New Aqueduct with the increased distributing system.

In the acquisition of land, and the purchase of additional water privileges, and the construction of the New Aqueduct, the city has expended nearly $30,000,000. That this expenditure was

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wise and business-like may be judged from the fact that the new has trebled the capacity of the old, and affords far greater security. The extension comprises several new reservoirs in the Croton Valley, the entire Bronx River system, and extensive improvements and enlargements of the distributing system.

Besides all this, it must be remembered that the surface of the ground along the line of the aqueduct forms a real estate holding that is available for park or other purposes, and is an asset of the city's fortune which is certain to increase steadily in value as long as the city continues to grow.

All these things being taken into consideration, it is well within the bounds of reason to accept the statement of those experts who declare that our Croton water system, as a whole, is worth twice what it was twenty years ago, or $200,000,000, at a conservative valuation. As a matter of fact it is worth much more than that.

As to our market property, it will be remembered that none of it has decreased in value, while much of it has been largely increased by wise and liberal expenditures. In addition to this, the new West Washington Market has been added to the list, so that the item set down at $5,000,000 in 1871 may be safely figured at $20,000,000 to-day. This is an estimate that no critic will assail, seeing that the net income derived from the markets by the city is considerably over a million dollars a year.

In regard to the "city lots not in public use," there is much to be said, of which the general public knows nothing; but since this article is of the nature of a summary, it is hardly worth while to go far into the particulars. It is a fact that the title to many pieces of valuable real estate within the city limits is vested in the municipality. Many pieces—that is, which are not in actual use by any department of the municipal government—have, in one way or another, come into the possession of the corporation. This statement has no reference whatever to park property or to the real estate which was bought up in order to acquire a right of way for the old and new aqueducts. Such items belong in the other specifications which have already been considered.

What is meant by the last classification is the various holdings which the city has acquired from time to time by purchase or bequest or the lapse of title, or in some other way, and which are not in actual use by the municipality. In many cases this ground

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has been leased by the city for long terms at a nominal rental, and it is well understood that in some instances these long leases are intended to be virtually deeds of gift. Such an instance is that of the Cathedral on Fifth Avenue; and others are the various hospitals and charitable institutions that have so beautified and improved the central portions of the island. There are many other instances, however, in which the city has executed *bona-fide* leases and is holding the property for the sake of the income now derived, or the profits to be had from the prospective rise in value. Such an example is the block between Duane, Reade, West, and Washington streets. It would be hard to say what that particular block is worth, but it is certainly far more valuable than it was in 1871. Eight million dollars is a small figure to put down under the head of "city lots not in public use." A detailed list of these lots would occupy much space, but the facts are of public record.

In regard to the next item—that of the docks and piers on the North and East rivers—it is necessary to remember first that whereas the city owned 70 piers in 1871, when the Commission made its appraisal, it now owns 142. In reference to the values of this part of our property it is difficult to do better than quote from a recent issue of the New York *Sun*, which said:

> The comprehensive plans submitted by the Chief Engineer, which the Dock Board has approved, for improving the North River water front between Charles Street and Twenty-third Street, and between Seventy-second and 100th streets, will entail an expense of $8,000,000, distributed, however, over several years, the Dock Board being limited by law to the expenditure of $3,000,000 in any one year. The present annual revenue from the docks is $2,000,000, and this sum is turned into the city treasury to be applied to the extinction of the debt and toward the payment of interest. Years ago an estimate of the value of wharf and bulkhead property of New York was $1,800,000 on the East and $1,400,000 on the Hudson River—$3,200,000 in all. A subsequent valuation in 1871, when all values had increased enormously, put the dock property at $5,000,000. To-day the docks of New York are worth at a fair calculation not less than $30,000,000, and they yield about six per cent. net on such valuation. If the improvements now in contemplation secure the approval of the Sinking Fund it will not be long before these docks will, through the increased facilities offered to commerce, be worth probably $50,000,000, or one-half of the whole city debt.

The great enlargement of the police force in New York in the last twenty years is a matter sufficiently familiar to all our citizens. The department has kept pace not only with the increase

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in population and area, but with the advancement of metropolitan conditions. Not only is it—as has become a by-word—"the finest police force in the world," but it is provided worthily for. Not merely have the old station-houses been enlarged, renewed, and improved, but new sites have been purchased and new houses erected, until there is considerably more than three times the money invested in the real estate of this department of the government than there was in 1871. It is, therefore, a conservative estimate which figures this item at $5,000,000.

As to the property under the charge and control of the Board of Education, the same things may be said, almost in the same words. The visible enlargement of the system has been even greater in this branch of the government than in the Police Department, but it is well within bounds to say that the real estate belonging to the public school system is worth at least $15,000,000.

The property of the Fire Department consists not only of real estate, but of an exceedingly costly outfit of machinery and appliances. Of this latter item, however, no account is taken in the present recapitulation. Despite its great cost, and although it might properly be termed an asset in reckoning up a private fortune, it can only be regarded as a utensil when taken as a belonging of the city. It is not an "available asset" and cannot be so held, for the reason that the city practically cannot "realize" on it. With reference to the real estate it is different. Any of that can be sold at any time. It was on the basis of the real estate alone that the Commission of 1871 should have figured, when they set down $3,500,000 to the credit of this department. Since then the force has doubled. Many new houses have been built, including the headquarters building; and, allowing for the increase in value on what was then owned, it is reckoned that there is not less than $5,000,000 to be set down under this head.

The $7,500,000 set down in 1871 for courts, prisons, and islands was an exceedingly moderate estimate even then. Since then, extensive additions have been made. The new Criminal Court Building, in Centre Street, alone, cost $1,500,000 and is well worth the money. The Jefferson Market Court and the Harlem Court-house have also been added. Ward's and Riker's islands are now to be included in the list, as well as the city's establishment at Islip, L. I. Including these new possessions it is not unreasonable to reckon $20,000,000 as the value of this item.

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Aside from the properties appraised by the Commission of 1871, there is one of considerable magnitude which is entirely new. The city has built four armories since that year, at a cost of $3,000,000, and has another in course of construction, besides being now engaged in the work of condemning sites for others. This new property is already much more valuable than its cost, but in order to be conservative it is reckoned at $3,000,000.

A recapitulation, then, of the estimated values of the available assets of New York at the present time would read as follows :

Central Park	$20,000,000
Fifty other parks and places	50,000,000
Croton Aqueduct	200,000,000
Public markets	20,000,000
City lots not in public use	8,000,000
Docks and piers, North and East rivers	30,000,000
Police stations and land	5,000,000
School system	15,000,000
Fire Department	5,000,000
Courts, prisons, and islands	20,000,000
Water lots	3,000,000
Armories	3,000,000
Total	$559,000,000

In other words, New York city has ample real estate security to offer for a debt of four times the size of the present obligations, or $400,000,000, if any extraordinary combination of circumstances could make it desirable to incur such a debt. Nothing short of a miracle, however, can be imagined which would make it the proposition of a sane man to incur a city debt of any such magnitude.

These figures, representing, as they do, an amount of wealth which can hardly be realized by the human mind, seem fabulously large, but, as a matter of fact, the estimate, though a rough one, and avowedly made without sufficient *data* to raise even a supposition of exactness, is studiously conservative, and is probably very much less than a commission of experts would make, should they devote the necessary time and labor to the subject.

New York city, then, as a corporation, owns considerably more than half a billion dollars worth of real estate. It is well to repeat here, what was before said, that no account is taken in this article of the uncounted millions of wealth the corporation has invested in assets that are not, properly speaking, convertible into cash. A single item of this description—that of bridges—could be set down at $10,000,000. New York owns one-third of

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the Brooklyn Bridge, which third cost, and is worth, $6,000,000. We have built the new Washington Bridge at an expense of $3,000,000, and have much more than the balance needed to make up the estimate of ten millions, already invested in other new bridges, building or built.

A bridge, however, is practically a public highway under our laws, and, if bridges were to be included, streets must also be figured. The streets are certainly the property of the corporation, and represent wealth as actual and tangible as park property, but they are not available assets. One can imagine a community reduced by misfortune to such a stress as to be obliged to sell its parks, and still able to exist. But a community that should be driven to the sale of its streets would necessarily disintegrate and thereby cease to be a corporation. Our bridges, streets, pavements, sewers, subways, and the like represent the wealth of the people truly, and form an enormous part of that wealth, and add greatly to the aggregate wealth by increasing neighboring property in value, but they are of such a character as to make it useless to do more than allude to them here.

Going back over what has been already written, we find that the two millions of people living in New York city and practically forming the corporation (although all are not citizens), own real estate to the value of $559,000,000; that they have this property mortgaged to the amount of $100,000,000; that their credit is literally the best in the world; that the expense of maintaining and constantly improving this property, including the salaries of their public servants, all interest charges and a gradual reduction of the mortgage, amounts to $34,177,429.55.*

It is, of course, elementary knowledge that the $559,000,000 of property does not represent individual holdings, any more than the $100,000,000 of debt includes the private liabilities of the citizen. What are here considered are the common holdings and the common liabilities.

THOMAS F. GILROY.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

* This last item does not represent all the income and expenditure of the corporation. It is the tax levy for the current year. The amount of income over and above the tax levy is that which accrues from the holdings of the corporation, and is therefore produced directly by the accumulated property of the people, speaking roughly and generally.

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THE BATTLE-SHIP OF THE FUTURE.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

IT IS not an easy task, within the compass of an article, to forecast the resultants of the forces now at work amongst the navies of the world in the production of the warships of the future. We can only proceed somewhat as the mathematician proceeds when he constructs a curve from the data of some of its loci, or extends it on the basis of an early part of the curve which is in his hands. But just as the astronomer meets with disturbing causes in the trace of the orbit of a new planet, so must the interpreter of the course of naval development expect to meet disturbing causes in the forces of fashion, of sentiment, and of habit; to say nothing of the possibility that entirely new powers of propulsion, of offence, and of defence may arise to break up the whole calculation.

THE POWER OF FASHION, SENTIMENT AND HABIT.

But without going into the consideration of such new elements, history and experience must teach us that the power of fashion over the warships is somewhat analogous to its sway over the form and color of a lady's dress. A long war will—to use a common expression—knock fashion out of time; but during a long peace her influence is great over the designs of the warships. Scarcely any navy produces its designs of warships with a single eye to their functions. They are often much more strongly governed by the desire of imitating or surpassing some other designs; and we are as much ashamed of appearing before the world with old-fashioned designs of warships as a lady is of going to church in an old-fashioned bonnet.

In another way, ostensibly utilitarian, but really sentimental, beliefs affect the characters of warships. Isolated experiments

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or occurrences detached from their environment create strong impressions on the public or on the naval mind. The sentiment is allowed to run riot amongst material, and we get warships which outlive a little day of praise, but long hamper by their existence the rate of progress on more sober lines. The strictly logical and utilitarian view which ought to prevail is warped in directions which are only seen to be crooked after long perseverance in following up the sentimental idea.

The force of habit, again, often prevents the full appreciation of a change which has been introduced ; and we go on with constructions, or modifications of constructions, whose *raison d'être* has long passed away. Habit prevails, too, in putting incongruous things together to an extent which really interferes with the new design and hides its purport. What was forced into the design of one type of ship will be passed into another type with which it has properly nothing to do, and, when it is there, reasons will be invented to keep it there which really have nothing to do with its introduction.

THE WARSHIP IN GENERAL.

In discussing the future of the warship, therefore, we must go on from experience of the past to an ideal future ; basing our forecast in the first place on the merits of the case, but admitting, while we do so, that the merits of the case will not always prevail ; or at least will be hindered—delayed by other unreasoning forces. We shall best succeed by analyzing the composition as, it were, of the modern warship in getting a general idea of the relative permanency and strength of her components. We may take the case under the three heads of speed, coal-endurance and sea keeping qualities, offensive and defensive powers.

We should understand of speed that, though we may not be able to fix its limits accurately, yet, as we approach them, the sacrifices entailed are so enormous that a practical limit is now reached. We ought to be clear on another point, namely, that equality of speed among different navies is the only possible goal we can make for. Not to be behind in speed should be the aim, only because to surpass in speed is impossible. In the war ship there is not now the guarantee for the nominal speed being realized which existed after copper sheathing was placed on the bottom of the sailing warship. All sorts of things happen in

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the engine-room under a pressed speed, which could only happen to the sailing warship in strong winds. At any critical moment the pressed steamship's speed may forsake her; and it would appear from the general reason of the thing that a reliable moderate speed is more important to the warship in general than an excessive speed liable to collapse without warning. In any case I look to see copper sheathing again made universal, as avoiding that bugbear of Sir George Rooke's time—a foul bottom. If it can be successfully applied to one steel ship, it can be applied to all, and the nominal reduction of speed due to the increased displacement ought not to be considered in view of the stability given to speed by a clean bottom.

COAL-ENDURANCE, AND SEA-KEEPING QUALITIES.

It is clear that naval minds are everywhere hardening on the question of coal-endurance. We cannot broach the matter without remembering that the advent of liquid fuel may be close at hand, and as ships can be fuelled (to coin a verb) at sea with liquid fuel when it would be impossible to take in coal, the hastening of that advent is a thing to be calculated on. As it is, with coal, the experience of such ships as the "Amphion," with a nominal extreme speed of 17 knots and a nominal coal endurance of 11,000 miles at 10 knots, on a displacement of 4,300 tons, appears to give more satisfaction to the naval mind as a combination than the "Blenheim's" 21.6-knot speed with 15,000 miles coal-endurance on a displacement of 9,000 tons. An "Amphion" would not be justified in running away from a "Blenheim," so that the extra speed is not so far called for; and while the nominal 4,000 miles greater coal-endurance may be an advantage, it would seem to be much more than balanced by the displacement of the "Blenheim." While, therefore, great stress must be laid on coal-endurance so long as coal is the fuel, it may be easy to overdo it in sacrificing other elements.

But coal-endurance is itself nominal. The "Amphion" could not, as a matter of fact, steam 11,000 miles at 10 knots, nor could the "Blenheim" steam 15,000 miles at the same speed. A great deal of coal is consumed which does not go in propulsion. The tendency is to examine these matters more closely, and there is a prospect that some fixed amount of coal-endurance will be roughly arrived at, which will form one of the bases of every de-

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sign. It does not appear reasonable that coal-endurance should be proportioned to type as it generally is at present. Classes of ships likely to be associated in the same duties, as 1st, 2d and 3d class cruisers, ought and, it would seem, must ultimately rest upon a uniform coal-endurance, though it may not be so necessary to equalize the speeds. Battle-ships, acting always in concert, ought to be, and perhaps will be, equalized all round.

The copper sheathing already mentioned, as it makes speed more reliable, has a consequent value as an element of sea-keeping. The other elements are, of course, covered by the ideas of good sea boats, and good accommodation for officers and men, and these are things more and more considered.

OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE POWERS.

The offensive powers of the warships at present reside in the gun, the torpedo, and the ram. To mention them in the order of their effective striking ranges, we see all round us that the gun has developed in a way that it never showed any signs of doing in the days of our forefathers. The mere growth in the size and power of the guns is nothing. Mere growth was indicated when the United States built the 24-pounder frigates in 1812, and the 68-pounder, the 8-inch and the 10-inch shell guns of thirty years ago were more recent and reasonable developments of inventive genius. What is remarkable is the astonishing incongruity of the arrangements that have grown up, the wonderful sway that has been exercised by fashion, sentiment, and habit, in establishing the gun, as it is established, in the modern battle-ships, and as it has been thence passed, to some extent, into the modern cruiser. The great point before us in this forecast is to estimate whether the existing type of battle-ships as represented to a greater extent, say, by the British "Royal Sovereign," and to a lesser extent by the French "Amiral Baudin," but to the greatest extent of all by such a ship as the British "Sans Pareil," or the ill-fated "Victoria," is suited to its purpose.

The guns of each ship are divided into three classes—the heavy battery, the medium battery, and what may be called the machine-gun battery. The "Royal Sovereign" carries four and the "Amiral Baudin" three monstrous cannon capable of penetrating the thickest armor that either ship bears at distances far beyond that at which any reasonable person would attempt to fire

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with hopes of hitting at all. There may be in either ship some little patches of armor a few feet square which guns of half the size and weight would not easily penetrate at any distance within which there could be hopes of hitting. But in the "Amiral Baudin," as opposed to the "Royal Sovereign," there is so little armor of any kind offered as a target that the least likely thing to happen in action is that a "Royal Sovereign" heavy projectile should strike the armor of the "Amiral Baudin," which however, the whole theory of the "Royal Sovereign" proclaims it designed to do. The greater part of the area of these ships offered as a target has no armor at all on it, and most of the fighting men are entirely open to destruction by the machine-gun battery of either ship. It may be said to be only quite recently that either France or England has begun to remember that, up to date, the proportion of killed and wounded has determined the victory. The "Royal Sovereign" offers some work to the medium battery of the "Amiral Baudin," as she carries a small area of five-inch armor, which is not pervious to the machine-gun battery. But, unquestionably, the general result has been to design two great battle-ships in order to carry a few enormous guns destined to penetrate armor which, in the end, is not offered to either side. If the "Royal Sovereign" and the "Amiral Baudin" should ever come to try conclusions, it is not at all unlikely that the heavy guns, firing slowly, and not more surely than the light ones, will be, as it were, by the way, and that the victory, if gained by the guns, will be gained by the medium and the machine-gun battery, not by the monstrous cannon whose presence alone justifies the design.

But if we look at the "Sans Pareil" we arrive at conclusions still more mathematically "absurd." Not only does the "Sans Pareil" boast herself in carrying two still more enormous guns to penetrate armor which never was and never will be offered to them, but she has assumed that, because she has these monstrous weapons, the enemy will obligingly keep himself in her front so that she may fire at him there, as she could not fire at him as long as he hung in her rear. But it is not possible for one ship to force another to keep a position ahead. The only compulsion possible for one ship to offer to another is—if she has the superior speed—to force her either to fight as in chase, or else not to fight at all. Thus we have, in the design of the modern battle-ship, a

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set of irreconcilable incongruities as far as her guns and their position in the ship are concerned. Are these incongruities permanent, the result of logical argument? Or are they ephemeral, the result of the interference of fashion, sentiment, or habit? How is it our forefathers never thought of such things? The fact I believe to be that the modern battle-ship might well make answer like Topsy, and say, "Never had no mudder, tell 'ee. 'Spects I growed."

Our forefathers were very clear about the necessity for not multiplying types of guns in one ship. They knew all the practical difficulties that arose when the wrong ammunition was brought up to the right gun. They knew that in the end each ship would be found fighting her own class, and they did not attempt to overstep what war taught them, though they did not lose sight of what is supposed to be the modern idea of armoring ships; they observed that the scantling of the ships formed a natural armor; that the lower parts of a line-of-battle ship were impervious to all but the heaviest guns carried; and that generally the thicker sides of the line-of-battle ship were impervious to the lighter guns of a frigate. But they knew that if the frigate should want to cover herself so as to fight the line-of-battle ship, she must greatly reduce the number of shot she fired in any given time, and thus the line-of-battle ship must preserve her superiority. This kind of argument kept the general type of the war-ship permanent after it had been once fixed.

When steam made its approaches it occupied, on the broadside, the greater part of the space required for guns by its paddle-wheels, and it thereby drove the guns forward and aft, and forcibly reduced the number possible to be carried. It was necessary to restore the balance, and the paddle-wheel steamer did it by introducing a heavier class of gun at bow and stern—the only thing she could do. But as far back as 1848 this enforced change made officers think that it would not be possible to give full effect to the old broadside position in action, and the idea of the "end-on" battle arose. Presently the paddle-wheel gave place to the screw, and restored the broadside to its position and power; but we had got so accustomed to the heavy armament of bow and stern that, though there was no more argument in its favor than there had been a hundred years before, we put it into the screw ships by mere force of habit. About the same time

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came the building of a vast number of steam gunboats, designed to fire shell into the Russian strongholds in the Baltic. For this purpose nothing was better than to put about two heavy shell guns into each boat. The eye and the sense got accustomed to them and they hardened the idea of few heavy guns capable of pointing in many directions instead of that of many guns mounted in the old way on the broadside; we lost the sense of the fact that the manœuvring powers of steam removed, instead of increasing, the necessity for permitting the gun to cover large arcs of fire. We ought to have argued, that the easier it became to move the ship the less necessity there was for moving the gun in the ship. We argued and acted the other way exactly.

Presently came the armor-clad frigate, preserving all the characteristics of the wooden frigate, but raising at once the debatable question whether in view of the increasing power of the gun, armor was to be kept thin and extended in area, or made thick and reduced in area? Coles in England and Ericsson in the United States offered a solution which ran in the groove of fashion, of sentiment, and of habit. The turret-system exposed very little surface to armor; was capable of mounting the heaviest gun, and gave—at least in the "Monitor"—the most perfect all-round fire without need to remember that steam, and especially the rising twin screw, had done it already.

The dramatic incident of the "Monitor's" victory over the "Merrimac," alluded to by Mr. Secretary Herbert, which was in my mind the decisive battle of the Civil War, clinched the business. Coles claimed complete armor, all-round fire, the heaviest guns, and a power of concentrating all of them over a very large arc. There was an opposition here in England in what was called the box battery system, offering little power of concentration, but giving a possibility of a weak all-round fire, and a special strength in bow fire or in stern fire which Cole's latest designs had left—not at all improperly—excessively weak.

The set of ideas culminated in the "Thunderer" and "Devastation," two great turret ships, which depended wholly for their defence upon four immense guns in two turrets. They were scarcely built when it was seen that half a dozen gun boats, each carrying a heavy gun, or one or two torpedo boats, would prove quite a match, at one-tenth of the cost, for these giants as they then were. The necessity of an auxiliary armament was manifested

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and the newer designs began to contemplate it. Out of the jumble emerged the present type, which I do not think anyone really considers permanent.

It has become obvious in the first place that there is not and never was necessity for gigantic guns, which can only be mounted in turrets and barbettes. There is a general feeling of unrest in the face of ships costing a million and weighing 14,000 tons each. The sudden and awful loss of the "Victoria" has emphasized what had before been muttered, that there is a want of economy in putting too many eggs in one basket. The power, which improved powder and increased charges have put into the hands of the lighter guns, all seems to point to a time when the size of the guns, composing the heavy armament of the battle-ship, will diminish, as the size of the guns of the medium battery will increase. When the very heavy gun disappears there will be no more reason for keeping up the fiction of the "end-on" battle, and the moderate-sized gun in considerable numbers may be restored to its old and legitimate place on the broadside.

Even the sentiment which has commended the building of such incongruous cruisers as the "Dupuy de Lôme," "Blake" and "Blenheim," "Powerful" and "Terrible," ships which are nearly battle-ships, but not quite, seems likely to have its effect in the same direction. For these are broadside ships; a heavy bow and stern gun having been passed into them without reasoned justification by the force of habit. The discoveries of Mr. Harvey in the improved resisting power of armor plates, by enabling larger areas to be armored for the same weight and with the same resisting power as smaller areas were before, tend likewise to bring us back to the old broadside form. No one has yet tried to design a broadside battle-ship to carry moderate guns, unhampered by the troubles of masts and sails. When some one does, the enormous advantages are likely to be recognized, and once back to the broadside form we shall not be likely to stray from it again.

Tactically, I am assured there is no cause to magnify, or to particularly strengthen, bow fire. We might remove every heavy gun out of every cruiser without very much hurting her real strength. They do not want their power of penetration, and it is waste of ammunition to operate at long range. A weak fast ship, however, would be justified in strengthening her stern fire, be-

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cause she can compel her enemy to fight her from behind, or to leave her alone. The tendencies point then, in my opinion, towards giving up the very heavy gun, by consequence the turret and barbette, by consequence the very large and very expensive battle-ship. I believe it will be generally conceded that neither the torpedo nor the ram has any dominating influence over the design of the warship. Speed, coal-endurance, sea-keeping qualities, and the gun, are the main bases of construction. The torpedo can be fitted in to suit the rest of the design, while the ram can be fitted to every ship without any reference to the features of her construction.

The gun, too, must dominate the tactics of naval war. If a commander chooses to confine himself to an artillery action, nothing but superior speed on the other side can bring the torpedo in. If a commander again chooses to fight a torpedo action, nothing but superior speed can bring the ram in. We are, therefore, justified in treating the gun as the governing factor of all design, and in believing that the future of the warship depends on the number and size of the guns which it is decided a ship should carry. Nothing could be more fallacious than to attribute to those who are opposed to the immense displacement now given to individual ships, the desire to fix a displacement and work to it. The displacement must suit the requirements, not the requirements the displacement. We must begin by reducing the size of the gun, and it is no use asking any one to combine 8,000 tons displacement with a 67-ton gun.

CLASSES OF SHIPS.

Passing now from considering the warship in general and her future, it becomes necessary before closing our inquiry to say something about the warship in particular, considered as designed for different strategical and tactical purposes. It has ever been the thought of times of peace to consider a navy as a congress of ships, beginning with glorious monstrosities, as "The Sovereign of the Seas," the "Santissima Trinidada," and the "Inflexible," and descending by regular gradations to the insignificant cutter or gunboat. It was peace thoughts which created in England the system of "rating," descending from the 1st to the 6th rate in the power and importance of the ship. It was the experience of war which enforced classification

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according to strategical and tactical needs. The Dutch wars invaded the rating system and forced a great division upon the fleet between the ships which were "fit" and the ships which were "not fit" "to be in line." Thus arose the precursor of the existing great division of a navy into "battle-ships" and "cruisers."

The function of the battle-ship is to act on the defensive, in concert, of the waters over which dominion is claimed. The battle-ship is the representative of a force waiting to be attacked and daring attack. If there is ever to come anything which is stronger, offensively and defensively, than the battle-ship, she must disappear. The theory on which she rests is that there is nothing but another battle-ship which is capable of offering her a fair match. She always has to secure herself against special attacks, and she cannot, like the Afrite, change herself into a pomegranate lest the Afrite on the other side might change herself into a fowl and swallow her seed by seed. The other day it was the unarmored gun-vessel which threatened her; she met it by adding her medium battery. Later she was to be swept off the seas by a swarm of torpedo boats; she met it by adding the machine-gun battery. At the moment it is suggested that rams pure and simple, small and swift, will be too much for her. She looks calmly down and would like to see them try. All such threats annoy her, but she sees clearly that whatever beats her must take her place. No special rams, no special torpedo boats, can take up and hold her defensive position; and if they caused her to disappear they themselves would follow, because it is only her existence, which justifies theirs. I believe, therefore, that the battle-ship, as a battle-ship, will hold her own to the end of time. The experience of war tended to bring her down to uniformity of type and to mean dimensions. I believe that the non-utilitarian views of peace will not be able to resist the teaching of experience.

The cruisers have more various duties to perform and must always be broken up into several classes. But the same causes which tend to uniformity and moderate dimensions in the battle-ship tend to produce the like effects on the three or four classes which are alone necessary, and were alone found necessary in former wars. There is no real place for cruisers which are nearly battle-ships unless they be used like our own "Blake," "Im-

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perieuse" and "Warspite," as representing battle force on distant stations. Even here, argument emerges very doubtfully in their favor. Mr. Roosevelt has distinctly knocked away the crutches on which argument used to sustain itself in referring to United States policy in the War of 1812. The true cruiser policy is to arm them and protect them to fight their own class; to give them an abundant coal-endurance; a reliable speed and, by avoiding all attempts to impose heavy guns on them, to enable displacement to be kept down and numbers to be kept up. The largest and fastest class of cruisers would probably be those selected for acting as the eyes of the fleet. A smaller class stationed singly, or doubled and trebled, according to the well-known custom, would form the guards of commerce; while a still smaller class might keep close watch on the enemy's ports, interrupt his coasting trade and report progress to the battle-fleet.

Study of the exact conditions probable in naval war should for each nation direct its naval policy of design. I doubt altogether the wisdom of France and of Russia, if they prepare to cripple the commerce of England by means of a few very large and powerful cruisers, rather than by swarms of much smaller ones. The only way in which I can suppose them to win on such a policy would be by their inducing us to imitate them. If France and Russia have hopes of meeting on an equality the battle-fleets of England, they are no doubt well advised in maintaining battle-fleets larger than are necessary for securing their territorial waters against continental enemies; otherwise their policy should, in my opinion, be to develop the cruisers. I sometimes think that if the United States so willed it, she might become the mightiest naval power that the world has ever seen. Her situation and general policy would seem at present to lead her towards the control of the naval forces of those American States which might otherwise be possibly used to her detriment. Naval operations for her would thus be at great distances from the home base, and design might be expected to run in the direction of considerable offensive power and great coal-endurance, even at the expense of some nominal speed.

P. H. COLOMB.

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THE WOMEN OF TO-DAY.

I.—BRITISH WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MEATH.

FOR the first time in the history of International Exhibitions a building has been set apart at Chicago for the exhibition of female work and the discussion of all questions affecting the welfare and advancement of women. This is an important and distinct step forwards in the direction of their emancipation, and in the near future the Exhibition of 1893 will probably be quoted as beginning an epoch in the history of the social and political rise of the physically weaker half of the human race.

In this connection it may be of interest to recall to our remembrance another important epoch in this movement, viz., the election in 1888 to the first London County Council (the governing body of the British Metropolis) of the late Lady Sandhurst and of Miss Cobden, by the constituencies respectively of Brixton, and of Bow and Bromley, and the subsequent nomination by the council itself of Miss Cons as an Alderman. The whole story of the struggle of these ladies to obtain a share in the local government of their country is a matter of more than local or even national interest. Their victories and defeats are historical events, the importance of which each year as it passes will demonstrate with greater clearness and precision.*

* The votes given to the candidates upon the occasion of their election were as follows:

Brixton election.....	Captain Verney	2,112	Progressive.
"	Lady Sandhurst	1,986	"
"	Beresford Hope.....	1,686	Moderate.
"	Smallman.....	1,397	"
Bow Election.....	Hunter.....	2,159	"
"	Miss Cons.....	2,045	Progressive.
"	Rider Cook.....	1,722	Metropolitan Board of Works.
"	Howard.....	1,561	Moderate.

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The late Lady Sandhurst's legal right as a woman to retain the seat was successfully challenged by the defeated candidate, Mr. Beresford Hope, who eventually succeeded in ousting her from her seat. Since the Courts of Justice decided in the case of the late Lady Sandhurst that women are not eligible for election to seats on county councils, bills have been introduced into both Houses of Parliament with a view to an alteration in the law. Owing to the congestion of business in the House of Commons Mr. Channing, who was prepared to champion the cause of the ladies in the Lower House, has failed to obtain an opportunity of testing the feeling of that assembly on the subject, but in the House of Lords the question of the admission of women to county councils has been twice the subject of debate and of division. In 1889, when the "County Councillors (Qualification of Women) Bill" was first brought forward by the writer, only 28 peers supported the motion that it be read a second time, but in 1890 this small minority nearly doubled itself, 48 voting in favor of the second reading. For the last two years it has not been practicable to reintroduce the bill, but if the minority should continue annually to increase at this rate it will not be long before it will be turned into a majority. It included on the last occasion the leaders of both sections of the Liberal party in the Upper House, as well as the chief representative of the National Church. Mr. Gladstone two years ago in reply to a deputation which waited upon him, headed by the Countess of Aberdeen, and which was representative of eighty Women's Liberal Associations, expressed himself in sympathy with the principle of the movement, and added that he did not imagine there would be much, if any, opposition to the bill. The support of the veteran leader of the Liberal party to the principle in question is a source of great encouragement to those who are laboring to bring about a reform which they believe to be not only an act of justice to women, but one which will conduce to improvement in the local government of Great Britain.

Although these bills have been in the past more actively supported by Liberals than by Conservatives, there is no reason why the subject should not be considered independently of party politics or predilections. The exclusion of women from public life is no recognized dogma of the Conservative party, or the presence of Primrose League dames on public platforms would be an im-

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possibility ; nor is there any reason to suppose that Conservative women candidates would have less chance of election to county councils than Conservative men. When once the right of women to seats on county councils is acknowledged by Parliament, no political party, I presume, will be able to claim the monopoly of female candidates for these official positions. The subject may, therefore, be considered entirely on its merits, and the only point for discussion is whether the public service would be benefited by their presence or not. On the introduction of the above-mentioned Bill into the House of Lords it was pointed out that an important portion of the work of a County Councillor was connected with duties which in all ages had been considered to belong peculiarly to the province of women, such as the care of infants and children, and allusion was made to the numerous baby-farms and industrial schools which were under the charge of the London County Council. It was shown that County Councillors were required to attend to matters which could be better handled by women than by men ; for instance, such subjects as the care of the mentally afflicted of both sexes, of whom there are over 10,000 in London alone, and it was pointed out that there were many other matters of local government calling for the qualities of order, attention to details and delicacy of taste, in which women excel, and upon which their advice would be most valuable. British county councils have much to do with subjects coming under the head of "the-condition-of-the-people" question, on which many women, by their practical acquaintance with the lives, homes and needs of the poor, can speak with a knowledge which should demand attention and to which few men can lay claim.

To put the matter shortly, the admission of women to county councils is urged for the following principal reasons : Because, 1. They are intelligent human beings, the equals of men morally and intellectually. 2. They form more than half of the population and will suffer equally with men, should county councils neglect or mismanage their duties. 3. They bear their share of the burdens of the county, and Englishmen have always insisted that those who are taxed should also be represented by persons of their own choice. 4. Their admission to seats on school and poor law boards, especially in the case of the latter, has led to marked improvements of administration. 5. The work of British county councils includes the care of infants, the education of

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children, industrial and technical education of girls, the charge of the mentally afflicted and the management of lodging-houses, all of them being subjects which women are generally acknowledged to understand better than men. 6. "The-condition-of-the-people" question occupies a large share of the attention of county councils, and women possess more practical experience than men of the needs of the poor. 7. Their assistance would be most valuable in the consideration of such matters as the housing of the working classes, the supply of pure water and air, the formation of urban public gardens and playgrounds, the sanitation of dwellings, the cleansing of the streets and the improvement and beautifying of our cities, etc. 8. Men and women regard subjects from different points of view.

It is a matter not entirely of regret that a want of precision in the wording of the Local Government Act left it doubtful whether the legislature intended to permit women to sit in county councils, inasmuch as the very uncertainty occasioned the election of women to the London County Council, and thus for some months before they were declared by the tribunals to be legally ineligible to such seats their colleagues and the public enjoyed an opportunity of practically testing their fitness for these official positions. As a colleague of the ladies, I can personally bear witness to the ability with which they performed their duties, to the energy which they displayed in their prosecution, and to the valuable service to the public they rendered on many an occasion. The council itself was so confident of the advantages to be derived from the coöperation of women in its labors, that, not satisfied with the presence of the two ladies elected by the people, it deliberately added a third by conferring in February, 1889, by a vote of 58 to 22, the aldermanic honor upon Miss Cons. This action on the part of the council was occasioned by no passing sentiment of enthusiastic gallantry, but was the result of a deliberate conviction which has been strengthened by experience. On taking her seat Miss Cons only asked to be appointed on two committees, but the council, after a short time, so appreciated her services that she was placed on eight committees and eleven sub-committees, whilst Miss Cobden was invited to join seven, and Lady Sandhurst three, besides several sub-committees. Months after the election of these ladies, and when ample time had elapsed for the council to discover its error,

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had it made a mistake, on the Law-Courts deciding that women were ineligible to sit on county councils, it passed by a vote of 48 to 22 a deliberate and formal resolution petitioning Parliament to legalize the election of these and other women to similar positions. The words of the resolution were as follows:

"That this Council heartily approves of the principle of the bills now before Parliament for enabling women to sit as County Councillors, and directs that it be referred to the Parliamentary Committee of the County Council to draw up a petition in favor of the said bills."

The members of the London County Council are not singular in their desire to see women admitted to posts of responsibility in connection with the local government of the country, as out of the 86 public meetings held to discuss this subject, in only two has a vote been carried against the ladies. The bill which the House of Lords has been asked to read a second time is the outcome of the resolution of the London County Council, and a petition in favor of the measure was signed by 77 of its members. It is a serious matter for the legislature to inform the most important county council in the kingdom, representing three and a half millions of people, that it is ignorant of its own interests, and that Parliament, therefore, declines to permit it to make itself more efficient by the admission within its doors of women duly elected by the constituencies. It would be different had women proved themselves incompetent to fill the official positions which Parliament has of late years thrown open to them, but the very reverse is the case. Women have shown themselves to be preëminently useful as poor law guardians, and the services of many have been much appreciated on schoolboards. Women are daily demonstrating that they are capable of filling positions for which formerly they were considered to be unfitted. They have on several occasions, and notably in the course of recent years, proved that they are intellectually the equals, and in some cases, the superiors of men. The time has gone by, if it ever existed, when it could be said to be incumbent on those claiming for women a reasonable equality with men, to show the capacity of the former for positions of official authority. After all that women have done of late years to improve the administration of the British Poor Law, British hospitals, infirmaries, workhouses, jails, penitentiaries, and schools, we, who advocate the extension of the sphere of usefulness now open to women, are

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quite justified in throwing upon our opponents the onus of demonstrating that women are incapable of filling these positions with advantage to the public service.

To hear some of our opponents speak, one would imagine that certain occupations had been divinely set apart for women and others divinely forbidden. The fact is that men and women have been placed in the world to mutually assist each other in carrying on its work, that owing to artificial restrictions women have not been in the past as well educated as men, and, therefore, were formerly not as well fitted to fill many posts which, through the advances they have made in education, and owing to the greater breadth which extended liberties of freedom have given to their minds, they are now perfectly qualified to occupy. This being the case, we should not necessarily be bound in this matter by custom, but in deciding whether a particular post should be filled by a woman, only consider whether by her admission the work would be better performed. In this instance there appears every reason to believe that better results would be obtained by inviting the female mind to bring its own peculiar powers to the assistance of that of the male in the solution of the very varied problems which occupy the attention of county councils. We should remember the words of Charles Kingsley:

"On every side the conviction seems growing (a conviction which any man might have arrived at for himself long ago if he would have taken the trouble to compare the progress of his own daughters with that of his own sons) that there is no difference in kind, and probably none in degree, between the intellect of that of a woman and that of a man, and those who will not as yet assent to this are growing more willing to allow fresh experiments on the question, and to confess that after all (as Mr. Fitch well says in his Report to the Schools Inquiry Commission) 'the true measure of a woman's right to knowledge is her capacity for receiving it, and not any theories of ours as to what she is fit for or what use she is likely to make of it.'

"What women have done for the social reforms of the last thirty or forty years is known or ought to be known to all. Might not they have done far more, and might not they do far more hereafter, if they, who generally know far more than men do of human suffering, and of the consequences of human folly, were able to ask for further social reforms, not merely as a boon to be begged from the physically stronger sex, but as their will, which they, as citizens, have a right to see fulfilled, if just and possible."

Unless we are prepared to argue that representative institutions are a mistake (and it is somewhat late in the century to take

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up that position), we are bound to assume that electors, whose interest it is that good government should prevail, will vote for those whom they believe to be best qualified to carry on the public business. If women, therefore, are chosen to fill official positions it shows that the electors have confidence in them, and are willing to entrust to them the management of their affairs. Should these women prove incompetent to an extent sufficient to demonstrate that the fault lies not in the individual but in the sex we may rest assured that the constituencies will soon discover this, and will cease to choose women for similar positions. For let it not be forgotten that the passing of "the County Councillors (Qualification of Women) Bill" will not place one woman in power unless the electors believe her to be fitted for the place and desire her nomination. But if they seriously wish to elect women to county councils surely Parliament should not place hindrances in their way. Ever since the days of Wilkes it has been very generally acknowledged that the responsibility of election should rest with constituencies, and that it is a mistake for Parliament to fetter their choice. Whenever Parliament has attempted to do this it has ultimately suffered defeat, as it will again should it endeavor for any lengthened period to interfere with the choice of the people in the selection of their representatives either in the House of Commons or on county councils. The very fact of opposition will, in a free country like Great Britain, make the people more anxious to emphasize their claim to an unfettered right of selection by choosing their representatives from among the forbidden sex.

If it be hoped to close permanently against women the doors of the county councils, more solid reasons will have to be discovered than those to which the members of the House of Lords have on two occasions been doomed to listen. Some of the arguments of our opponents were beneath contempt. It was actually asserted by one speaker as a reason for the rejection of the bill, that if women were permitted to sit on county councils they would become less agreeable to men. It was said that the bill was being opposed in the interests of women. These self-appointed champions desired to protect poor weak woman from entering upon work which would be hurtful to her disposition and character. How thoughtful and kind of men to shield her from the consequences of her own foolish vanity and ambition! But, alas, for the ingratitude of

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human nature! There are women (and amongst them many who have shown themselves to possess very sound heads upon their shoulders) who resent this interference on the part of men, and assert that they—the women—are of age and are quite capable of taking care of themselves and of judging what is best for their own characters. They add that they doubt very much whether the men would meekly acquiesce, if the women were in a position to turn the tables, and in all kindness and in the men's own interest were to legislate for their benefit, and for the improvement of their characters and dispositions; by, say, prohibiting the establishment of social clubs, those dangerous rivals of the domestic hearth and known sources of deterioration in the manners of men, or by suppressing the use of such unnecessary luxuries, so dangerous to morals and health, as the produce of the vine and the tobacco plant. Men would doubtless expostulate and protest against an arbitary interference with the liberty of the subject, and might point out that these luxuries, if used in moderation, were harmless to morals, even beneficial to health and a source of happiness to the individual; indeed they might go on to argue that man was so peculiarly constituted that his character and disposition decidedly improved when under a sense of physical comfort. But women, if they followed the example now set them by men, might shake their heads and say that they knew better, that men who indulged in these luxuries were not agreeable to them, and that they were determined to shield the male sex against all temptations to moral degeneration.

The defeat of this bill on the last occasion it was brought before the House seemed to be due more to prejudice than weight of argument. Indeed, with the exception of the selfish one I have mentioned, there did not appear to be any grounds of opposition other than those of novelty and lack of prescription. History shows us that all reforms, even such as have been universally acknowledged in after years to have been of service to mankind, have had to pass through years of struggle and of defeat. It is not, indeed, in the true interests of the desired change in the law that we, who advocate this act of justice to women, should be exempt from the common lot of reformers. "Lightly won is lightly held." Difficulty of acquisition enhances the value of the prize when gained. Should this measure be again rejected, it will give women all the more time to render themselves com-

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petent to fill with honor the important and responsible positions which the bill seeks to place within their reach. On the next occasion when we try our fortune, should we meet with victory she will be welcome; if with defeat, we shall know how to make repulse itself instrumental to the attainment in the future of a more complete and perfect triumph.

The struggle for the enfranchisement of woman is not confined to British soil. There are many in the United States who believe that local government in that country would be purified, improved, and strengthened could a certain proportion of women be admitted to the municipal and county boards, and who would gladly welcome legislative reform in this direction.

This public recognition of the ability of women to work side by side with men is an encouragement to reformers on both sides of the Atlantic, and will undoubtedly exercise a beneficial influence in furtherance of her enfranchisement. A victory on one side of the ocean would soon be followed by an advance upon the other. I am sufficiently patriotic to hope that the honor of first admitting women to local councils may rest with the land of my birth, the land "where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent."

MEATH.

II.—THE TYRANNY OF THE KITCHEN.

BY CATHERINE SELDEN.

There are found among those who enter domestic service certain defects of character which belong to the human race in general, supplemented by deficiences peculiar to the class itself. These deficiencies are no longer matters of conjecture; they are of the nature of ascertained facts, and come home to each of us with the force of accumulated experience. It may safely be predicted that the servant girl of the future, as of the past, unless forced to do so, will make no adequate preparation for the duties she assumes; that the housekeeper must continue to teach her ignorant employee, and at the same time to pay her the price which is due to skilled labor. Judging from the present tendencies, there will be a steady demand for increase of wages

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(although few, if any, of the necessary articles purchased by the servant girl have risen in price within the past ten years), and a steady diminution in the amount of work that is done in return. The housekeeper must, however, recognize that ease and luxury play a large part in the ideals of life which take the strongest hold upon the masses; also that there is a very great inequality in the demands of different households. The chance which awaits every girl, of finding a situation in a luxurious home, where the work is light and wages high, is one never lost sight of. This, together with the innate love of change which secures relief from monotony, serves to bring about transitory engagements, and a chronic state of unrest.

Although the hours of labor cannot be definitely fixed, or the nature of the work so accurately defined as in a mill or other workshop, the employee in the private house has, as a rule, such wholesome accommodations, such excellent food, such good care in sickness, unattended by anxiety of mind concerning loss of wages, that these advantages and indulgences far outweigh any gain in other directions that the shop or factory may afford. She is, moreover, the recipient in the average household of a degree of care and consideration which she gets nowhere else, and which would be even greater than now, if the housekeeper found any substantial element of loyalty upon which she could repose. Fortunately the drudge or *slavey*, as she is known in Europe, does not exist in America in the houses of those who employ labor. She is only to be met when the chambermaid or cook marries and enters a house of her own.

In this question of domestic service, whatever apologies its defects may elicit, or whatever may be the inferences drawn from apparent or real causes, the effect remains the same. We find a condition of society wherein the advantages lie almost exclusively with the class which we are in the habit of regarding as one of the least intelligent in the community; a class, however, which has shown itself capable of being both aggressive and tyrannical; but we can hardly blame the servant girl, who, by means of a certain force of character, singleness of purpose and the aid of circumstances, has won a controlling position for herself, and has taken advantage of it. We rather look with astonishment upon that other class which has allowed itself to be thus dominated by persons of an inferior social grade. It seems surprising that employ-

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ers should have so long postponed using their combined education and intelligence to mitigate some of the evils from which they suffer.

When an evil, such as we are considering, is so widespread, and is so little dependent, as we have noted, upon the character of particular housekeepers, there must be a deep-rooted cause which lies beyond the power of any one individual to create or to conquer. This cause is undoubtedly involved in the question of supply and demand, and such being the case there is no basis for the hope that the present state of things will pass away so long as there are more desirable situations ready to be filled than there are persons capable of filling them. One means of remedy lies in the more frequent employment of the Chinese and the Italians, since they combine many qualities essential to good servants. They are versatile, silent and economical. The great advantage of the Chinaman is that he is not a politician; that he minds his business, makes his money and goes home. We could not have a better tool to work with if it had been deliberately planned for our use. We have still another resource in a co-öperative enterprise of some kind which by furnishing meals at a definite time or place, or by distributing them for home consumption, would lessen the demand for household service. Other palliatives will doubtless be thought of, and when this subject is once submitted to intelligent discussion we hope to receive many valuable suggestions, which, taken collectively, will furnish a basis for an enlightened policy.

The difficulties of the housekeeper are mainly due to the scarcity of a particular kind of labor. There is no scarcity of women laborers, taken as a whole. The labor market is indeed overstocked with them. It is, therefore, a question of distribution rather than supply. The heads of factories, stores and restaurants have no trouble, as a general thing, in getting all the labor they want. The problem is how to check the excessive competition in these quarters and divert a share of the labor seeking employment into channels where the services of women would yield a better return, both to the employer and employee. It is a well recognized fact that the women who seek situations in shops will not willingly enter domestic service. Their unwillingness to do so may be looked upon as an unreasonable prejudice. Nevertheless, it is a fact which cannot be over-

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looked in any effort which may be made to introduce this class of bread-winners into the household. It is a needless waste of energy to try and overcome this deep-rooted dislike to domestic service. The sensible thing to do, therefore, is to devise some plan of housekeeping which, so far from conflicting with this prejudice will, on the contrary, make it easy to secure the much-needed aid of those who entertain it. There are many self-respecting, capable girls who are willing to work faithfully and well under the roof of an institution who would not for a moment submit themselves to the control of a mistress in a private house.

Owing to the absence of external facilities, the American house is the scene of a heterogeneous and persistent industry, which has taxed to the utmost the powers of those whose task it is to direct it. We can safely assert that no other women of the same social grade and standard of living, as those in this country, have ever had so heavy a burden laid upon them as that which is due to the variety of their undertakings and the inadequate and incompetent force at their command to achieve them; but out of their necessities has arisen the need and the opportunity for the development of some new system of living more in keeping with the social conditions of modern times.

The work of cooking is the most troublesome and necessary part of domestic life. It requires more intelligence than all the other tasks of housekeeping, and is the one upon which the comfort of the family most largely depends. Experience has taught us there are some things which can be better and more economically done elsewhere than in the average house. We are already accustomed to buy our confectionery and many other articles from establishments organized especially for their production. There seems no reason why cooked meat and vegetables should not be brought from similar sources of supply.

It would not be difficult to found establishments of the nature of club-houses from which wholesome and well-cooked food could be distributed. The club has not hitherto been reckoned an advantage to the household. In many ways, indeed, it has been a detriment to it; but the form of organization of which it is an example might with profit be made use of for the benefit of the family. Indeed, it would be well if some of the clubs which already exist could be so enlarged as to include a department for

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the distribution of food. This could be effected without interfering to any great extent with their original purposes. A modification of this sort would, at the same time, give strength where at present there is an acknowledged weakness. The clientele of the family would furnish a much more certain basis for the purchase of supplies than the unforeseeable orders which now occasion one of the great difficulties in the management of clubs. Furthermore, the same capital, or perhaps it would be better to say the same plant, while subserving this double purpose might, in the nature of things, be expected to yield a larger return.

Ever since "the four thousand men, besides women and children ate and were filled" in Galilee, the simultaneous feeding of large numbers of people has been a matter of everyday occurrence. In the plan which we propose there is but one element of novelty and that is the sending out of food; but even this, so far as the least essential articles of the table are concerned, is already a matter of common experience. The task of distributing and keeping hot the more substantial and necessary varieties of cooked food ought not to present any great difficulties to a people so habile in solving mechanical problems as our own, nor ought the cost of so doing to be greater than the in direct tax that is now paid for the distribution of uncooked provisions from the different stores.

The men who belong to club-houses give as one of the excuses for their membership the diminished cost of living, the excellence of the food and the greater degree of comfort that is secured. It is frequently urged, however, that food cooked in large quantities is insipid and without its distinctive flavor; but such is not the case in first-class restaurants, and even if it were so, dishes prepared in the ordinary kitchens are not of such exquisite flavor or of such uniform excellence as to justify this criticism. But the membership of the family club should not be so large as to interfere with the gratification of individual taste. Indeed, one of the chief functions of its executive committee should be to see that no element which goes to give a home-like character to the institution is neglected. In other words, what we want to do is to combine the conveniences and organization of commercial life with the privacy of home and the independence of the individual.

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In the ordinary club there is one great difficulty which is always met with, and that is the unwillingness of its best members to serve on its committees. To do so necessarily interferes, to a certain extent, with their regular occupations, and many would rather pay the indirect tax which comes from maladministration than give their time to preventing this evil. The same difficulty might be expected in any other association of a similar nature, but it doubtless will be far easier to get a body of good housekeepers to give their time and attention to the practical details of such establishments than it would be in the case of men.

The exact nature of the coöperation necessary for the experiment of keeping house on a large scale had best be determined upon by those who take an active part in such an enterprise. The idea of coöperative housekeeping was first set forth and advocated some years ago, but the experiment then made was incomplete and was never carried to the point of cooking and distributing food. An organization similar to that of the club-house especially commends itself, for the reason that this kind of coöperation is already familiar to the public and has proved itself a success, an advantage not to be underrated in endeavoring to overcome the inertia, if not positive resistance with which every novel enterprise is greeted. The initiatory management of the family club, whatever might be its final administration, ought to be undertaken by men. They are not only used to organizing large enterprises, but from habitude such burdens are lightly borne, and moreover such an undertaking in their hands would have the prestige which comes from experience and past success.

The one prime requisite for success and the principal element of cost presented by the scheme under discussion lies in the need of administrative ability of the order necessary to run a first-class restaurant. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable, for talent of this order is not infrequently found among men, and there is no small amount of it lying dormant among women, which in their case needs to be called into activity, either by the benevolent motive or by pecuniary reward, or by both. But the direction of such an undertaking should be in the hands of the comparatively young and enthusiastic. The mature housekeeper who has been cooped up in this one occupation has had the vexation but not the enlargement which, under other circumstances, might be derived from the net work of industrial

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relations which encompass the household. Accustomed to the perpetual conflict and triumph in daily life of the commonplace over the ideal, she has a settled belief in the unconquerable and ever present power of evil as embodied in servants, pots and kettles, dust-pans and sewing machines. The skeptical state of mind induced by her experience is enough to check the enthusiasm of the most confirmed optimist.

There can be no doubt that the task of nursing, feeding and clothing humanity has had the effect of making women the most practical and disillusioned part of mankind. There is, nevertheless, a strong disposition on their part to seek consolation and refuge in the ideal when it is possible to do so. Such an organization as the above would serve as an outlet for aspirations founded upon practical ends, with a better chance of their realization than under ordinary conditions. It must be a very degenerate housekeeper who is not aroused to enthusiasm and emulation by the sight of a well-appointed, orderly, clean, and attractive kitchen and store-rooms, such as are to be found in good hotels and club-houses, and who does not find in these conditions the fulfilment of an ideal.

Without question the task of supplying a number of families with food is attended by its difficulties, but with our present system of labor it is hard to conceive anything more unsatisfactory, expensive and troublesome than the multiplied task of feeding small numbers. Indeed, the private kitchen is in many ways a monument of inefficiency. There is no doubt that the expense and labor in a restaurant is very much diminished in proportion to the numbers of its patrons. Thirty families might just as well have their dinners cooked in one kitchen by two or three cooks, as in thirty kitchens by thirty cooks. Instead of thirty ranges with their enormous consumption of fuel, one fire would be sufficient for the same purpose. There are also many labor-saving contrivances, economical devices and facilities now wanting in the home which could be made available, with the capital at its disposal, in the family club-house. The New England creamery serves in this connection to illustrate a very successful application of the coöperative theory. The unequal capacity and skill of the different farmers in a given district, and their unequal supply of water and other facilities for making good butter, have been avoided by the creamery. To these establish-

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ments, provided with such conveniences and resources as can only be secured by an expenditure of money out of proportion to the means of the average farmer, the dairyman brings his milk and has it converted into butter and cheese of far greater average excellence than could otherwise be secured.

Even in cases where there has been no previous training, and where it is a question of saving rather than of making money, several very successful efforts have been made to feed a comparatively large number of men at a very small cost. The Foxcroft Club in Cambridge, Mass., was organized by some gentlemen entirely without experience in the caterer's art, for the purpose of enabling students to obtain at moderate prices a sufficiency of plain and wholesome food. This they are enabled to do for about $2.50 a week. At Memorial Hall board is obtained at from $3.50 to $4 a week; but young men at the most vigorous and active period of their lives undoubtedly consume far more food than would be the case with the members of an average family. Memorial Hall and the Foxcroft Club are both managed by the students themselves; persons whose business experience must of necessity be small. If the above share of success is obtained under circumstances, which from a business point of view are somewhat unfavorable, far better results might be attained with experience and the application of the best business methods.

Mr. Atkinson's tables of the cost of food afford encouragement, and show how far our present methods lag behind economic and gustatory possibilities. Besides the unnecessary direct tax that has been placed upon mankind by ignorance and inattention to proper feeding, the indirect tax from this source is beyond computation. The question of food enters largely into the problem of intemperance, and many instances of reform have been due, not to any great moral uplifting, but to good food taken at proper intervals and in sufficient quantities to give strength and vigor to the bodily frame, thus diminishing the craving for stimulus and increasing the power of resistance to temptation.

So far as household service is concerned, the distribution of food would lessen the demand which now exists for domestic labor or rather distribute it more equably. By such an arrangement many persons who ordinarily employ two or three servants

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might dispense with one or more; those who have none might find it easier to get one, and those who so desired might altogether dispense with them. A liberal order for dinner might well include enough for luncheon, thus leaving but one meal to be prepared at home, and this the least troublesome of the three. The French have already taught us the sufficiency of coffee, eggs and bread for breakfast and the perfection to which these articles can be brought. It only remains for us to apply this lesson, together with other practical household experiments that have been made by these ingenious people.

The club as a centre of distribution should be conveniently placed with reference to its *clientele*, and being so placed might well have a restaurant attached for the benefit of such members as may prefer to take their meals abroad. There are conceivable instances where such a plan might afford greater comfort and diversion than the other, and in any enlarged scheme of life there should be room for all varieties of wholesome living. Multiplied opportunities and ways of healthful living give multipled chances for happiness. There are many households restricted within such narrow social limits, so impoverished in their occasions for diversion that any additional resource which gives a change of scene and relief from deadening monotony is to be welcomed. We cannot afford to despise any legitimate aid to enjoyment, and the embellishment, even of trifles, is, as Mr. Emerson suggests, not the least part of our duty in life.

It is needless to say the business of feeding humanity upon which every other enterprise is founded is of sufficient importance to awaken the interest of the imaginative, the practical and scientific minds. Indeed, it needs a coöperation of all these elements of thought; it offers a line of research which would seem to be especially fitted for women, and there can be no doubt that better education in the future will lead to the application of knowledge where hitherto ignorance only has prevailed. Such club-houses as those we propose afford ample opportunities for intelligent women of all grades to find useful employment; not only in the administrative offices but in all departments of practical work, and as we have before intimated, after the club-house had once been set on foot, its management might very properly devolve exclusively upon women. These establishments might be so conducted as to attract the better class of labor, and by

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means of promotion and reward retain it permanently in service. Rooms simply appointed, to be used by the employees for recreation and reading might well enter into the plan of such a club. It might also in the course of time become a training school of the highest value; for the one thing of all others which commends institutions as such is the sense of continuity which they give. A great deal of teaching which elsewhere is dispensed in infinitesimal quantities and lost in dispersion is here crystallized into tradition, and an atmosphere is created in which it is easy to absorb knowledge without any tangible influence being exerted.

If, however, the choice were to lie between benefiting any any one class above another, we should say that, whatever pleasure and profit might accrue to others from such establishments, their primary object should be to give relief to the housekeeper, to diminish her daily task, and to free her mind from the hopeless attitude towards the problems of every-day life; but more especially to arouse her from her fatal predisposition to submission, when resistance, coöperation or organization of some kind would diminish her cares.

CATHERINE SELDEN.

III.—AMERICAN LIFE AND PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D., COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH OF THE STATE AND CITY OF NEW YORK.

IT IS apparent to any man who will take the trouble to think, that, no matter what the learning, the knowledge, the ability or genius of the individual may be, these rest on the animal, and that without the animal, and, still further, without the animal in health, they are as nothing. Let but a little splinter of bone, no larger than the head of a pin, press upon the brain, and the wisest statesman that ever moulded the destinies of nations, the greatest judge that ever proclaimed the majesty of law, may be less than a little child. Little as we know of him, the most significant fact in the life of Shakespeare is that he never seems to have had any illness worthy of mention. Men may be civilized, they may be educated, they may be governed by the highest ideals,

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yet under all and carrying all, even as the foundation carries the palace above it, is the animal, the creature with physical wants and governed by physical laws. In every act in life, in every thought for others, we have to reckon first with this animal. Nature has guarded it well. No act of the will usually is or can be as strong as an instinct, and the brain with its energy, its power of thought, its range of knowledge, is but the servant of the instinct of self-preservation. For while it is true that there have been men and women who have risen above this for the sake of truth, honor or love, they have been the exceptions which prove the general law.

While the instinct of self-preservation has been implanted in the animal in order to guard the individual, the second strongest instinct in existence insures the continuance of the race. As the first, so is this a purely physical thing; something which may be over-ridden and crushed down by the few, but which will dominate and rule the many, for without it the human race would cease to exist. Now, while it may be true that what we call the triumphs of civilization, the knowledge, the justice, the humanity, the right-doing of men are all that excuses the infinite wrong which members of our race have done each other, we must not forget that these rest on the animal in that race. If the race is to go on towards greater triumphs in the future it must be by keeping the animal strong and healthy.

I emphasize this fact because there is at the present moment in this country a condition existing among the women which is cause for the gravest alarm. So far as I can learn, first from that personal knowledge which comes to each physician in his practice, and second from that consensus of knowledge had by all physicians and reflected in medical magazines and journals, the problem before the medical men of this country to-day is the health of the educated women, of those women who represent the third or fourth generation born on the soil. While it is true that from time to time articles appear in the lay publications in which this problem is alluded to, it is only in medical publications that the evil is really reflected. None know better than I do the difficulty which makes itself felt when we would discuss this subject. Modern canons of taste forbid any but the most distant allusions to what is going on among us in many ways, and he is considered immodest or even indecent who seeks to draw the veil. At the same

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time things have come to such a point that our progress as a nation may be seriously imperilled unless we can recognize the evil and find a remedy. Were this not true, the aggregate of torture inflicted on the American women would in itself be enough to make any one speak out who realizes what it is. When we read of the physical pain inflicted on those who were racked during the Middle Ages, or when we think of how the martyrs died, our sympathy with the victims and our abhorrence of the tortures is almost lost in our wonder that the people at large permitted such things to go on. Yet there exists to-day in the United States an aggregate of suffering alongside of which all the tortures of the martyrs were as nothing. Fox, in his Martyrology, gives 60,000 as the number who suffered under the persecutions of the Roman Emperors, and he is probably as near right as anyone will ever be. Great as those sufferings undoubtedly were, they were at least short. There are probably 60,000 women in the United States who suffer month in and month out, who have suffered for years and who are destined to suffer for years to come. Is not this cause for speech? More than this, there are probably 65,000 girls now growing up who will suffer as their mothers have suffered and do suffer. It seems to me that when we realize such a condition of things, we will realize that it ought to be seriously and candidly considered.

Let me briefly state facts as they are. An American girl, educated as it is our pride to educate her, marries the man of her choice amid the warm good wishes of all her friends. She is clever, bright, beautiful, and looks forward to years of happiness and of usefulness. One or, at most, two children are born, and if we meet her we can scarcely recognize her. She looks dragged and worn, she is fretful and peevish, she has become a burden on her husband instead of a help to him, she feels as if she were a nuisance to herself and to others; worse than all, because it is the cause of all, she is a confirmed invalid, doomed to suffer more or less during the coming years, and these, alas! may be many. None knows better than these women how fully the sympathy of their husbands is dealt out to them; how the love and affection surrounding them do what is possible to lessen the evil of their lot. Unfortunately, there can be in this world no bearing of the burden of pain for another, and the aching agony must be endured as best it may.

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There sometimes comes to the physician, who reflects on what nature intended there should be and what he actually sees before him, a feeling of irritable impatience over the contrast. The pain and misery seem to be so useless, so uncalled for. Never is this feeling stronger than when one contemplates the condition of these women, for it is, so to speak, so utterly unreasonable. But this impatience does not prevent the existence of the evil, and as we are concerned with what is, rather than with what should be, regret, no matter how genuine, is useless unless we can find the remedy. Expressed in the fewest words, the evil is that an increasingly large proportion of the women of the American race are unable to perform their functions as mothers, and these women include the mentally best we have among us.

Under the law of natural selection the race can only improve, provided the best men and women are parents. Just as there are inherited muscles so there are inherited brains. We have found by experience that it pays the community at large to develop the brain of the boy or girl in order to fit him or her for the struggle, and in order that our form of government shall continue to exist. With universal suffrage ignorance is the only enemy to be dreaded, for on the intelligent vote of the individual rests the ultimate wisdom of national acts. The stream cannot rise above its source, and the rule of the majority is only safe when the average intelligence is high.

The ability of each, as shown in self-support, is the simple interest on the investment, while the continuation by each of the proper share in the cost of developing the brains of the next generation is the return of the capital loaned. But there is—to carry out the simile—a compound interest due to the community at large from this investment, namely, the greater natural ability to be inherited by the coming generations. The gravity of the evil confronting us lies in this, that we seem to be able to bring the women up to a certain point in mental development and then they cease to be able to be mothers. Why?

It is to the last degree difficult to say why. The causes at work are very many, and while some are obvious others are merely suspected. It will be worth while, however, to consider those we can recognize because it is plainly true that the first step towards a remedy is fixing the reason of its necessity.

If what I have said concerning the animal be true, it follows

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that the primary duty of the majority of women is to bear children. This is not less the fact because a large percentage of educated American women tacitly deny it and silently agree with the utterances of the small number who openly claim women were created for "something nobler than slavery to children." In view of its truth, the question arises whether we bring up our girls in the right way. I am aware of the weight of the arguments in favor of equality in education for the sexes, and certainly I have no wish to be understood as wishing that women should be ignorant. Yet I have examined the schedule of studies given to girls between the ages of ten and seventeen in our public schools with no small amount of interest. As a physician I have learned two things: First, that mental work exhausts the strength as much as physical labor without its compensating advantages in exercise; and, Second, that between those ages, girls go through a physical change in which very great demands are made on the strength. While reading over that list of studies, therefore, the question has risen in my mind whether they do not imply drafts on the strength so great as to seriously impair the physical health. From the girls in our schools we demand they shall keep up with their classes, and we have enlisted as whips to urge them their ambition, the rewards offered for success and the disgrace attaching to failure. Thus stimulated, they drive their brains and they do the work—judging from school commencements I have been at they do it splendidly. But while we see to it that this artificial drain on the strength is kept up, nature is making her demands, none the less surely because we do not see them. She has a use for strength and energy at this time and nature will not be refused. It must be remembered that by no possible means can we take more out of the body than there is in it, and the fact that both natural and artificial demands have been satisfied is itself sufficient to show that the strength was there. But what has been done in reality is this: we have used up all the strength.

What is usually called stamina is that reserve of strength in the body which nature stores up in some way we do not understand, to respond to unusual strains, such as those of illness. It is not enough that from the food we eat and the blood we make we gather strength and nervous energy enough to meet the demands of the present; we have in addition to this to keep up

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the reserves. Now, it is perfectly possible to work ourselves to the point where the reserves are exhausted, and when a man breaks down with nervous prostration, that is what he has done. There are men who have never so broken down, but who, when they are attacked by some simple and slight disease, show an utter inability to rally. The reason is simple—they have no reserves left.

If Nature be left to herself she is to the last degree careful to supply an abundance of stamina to growing girls. Not only are girls who are really strong less apt to contract disease than are boys of the same age, but healthy young women if they contract a disease will, as a rule, have the less violent attack. In what is called the fever belt in Central and South America more young men than young women of the peon class catch the malaria fever. The deaths from yellow fever in such observed centres as Rio de Janeiro are less among the peon women from fifteen to twenty-five than among the men, and the percentage of those who recover is larger, the exposure being about equal.

Now, recovery from such a disease as yellow fever means that the patient has a reserve of strength which, when the disease has run its course, is sufficient to bring the patient back to health. Among these peon girls this reserve exists to a greater extent than among their brothers. But it is the fact that no such difference is observed between the girls and boys in this country. If anything, the results show the girls less able to endure any very exhausting disease. I am unable to find any reason for this reverse in nature's methods except it be in the tax which by our system of education we put on these girls. It is true, of course, that they are subject to hundreds of influences besides that of the schools; some of which are to be found in society, others in the press and jostle of American life, others, again, in the many sources of mental excitement which have their effect on all of us. Still, no one of these involves such a direct tax on the energies as is found in study, as our girls understand the word, although their combined effect must not be left unmentioned.

I once heard a married woman say: "Women are growing very scientific in these days." It is a fact that a very large number of American women now refuse to bear children. Ideas have changed. The religious sentiment which forbids efforts to pre-

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vent the accomplishment of the natural function of their sex has been greatly lessened in force for many of them. To no class in the community is the realization of what is going on so vivid as to physicians, because to them the sufferers from the results of their own acts must come for relief. It is almost useless to point out the terrible consequences of this interference with Nature, or to say the exchange is pain during a short period avoided and pain during life secured. I say "useless," because women and men alike rarely learn except by experience, and women, even to a greater extent than men, are functionally unable to realize the results of their acts. Herbert Spencer has this in view when he speaks of "the aptitude which the feminine intellect has to dwell on the concrete and proximate rather than the abstract and remote."

It is easy enough to hold up our hands in horror when we think of acts of this kind, and it is easy enough to find words of condemnation which shall indeed be strong. Probably there is no one who would say, whatever the thought might be, that the words were too strong or the horror too great; but when the physician, than whom no one knows better the ghastly folly of the act and its terrible punishment, reflects on its causes, he can find, if not excuses, at least less than utter condemnation. So far as the act is the result of a dislike to be deprived of the pleasures of society by the care of children, it is damnably wrong. So far as it results from the dread of the pain of child-birth, it is folly so absolute that it may not be expressed in words. But when it is the result of an innate feeling that there is not stamina enough to stand the strain—what then? It is true that the consequences of the act, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, involve far greater strains on the strength than can ever result from its alternative, but I seriously question whether women generally know this or whether if they know it theoretically they really believe it. It is impossible for a physician to say anything with a more absolute knowledge of its truth than when he declares that no matter what the evil results of child-bearing may be they are less than those following on criminal operations.

It is not to be supposed for a second that all or even the majority of women who have been broken down have their own folly to thank for it, but while the number is relatively small, when compared to the number of the sick, it is the reluctant belief of

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those who have an opportunity of knowing "whereof they speak" that it is increasing. It is this belief which gives a part of its importance to the lowering of the birth-rate in the United States, as shown by the census of 1890. The other and greater part of that importance is derived from the enormous number of cases in which the women have broken down as the result of a lack of stamina sufficient to meet the physical strain of child-bearing.

It is, unfortunately, the fact that evidence of this evil is not confined to physicians. There is not a man or woman, and this is especially true of what we call the cultured classes, that does not count among his or her acquaintances married women who are confirmed invalids. The small average size of American families is a matter of notoriety. Let us see how this fact is reflected in statistics.

Massachusetts ranks deservedly high among her sister States in her patriotism, wealth, energy, industry, education and progress. On the roll of her public men are the names of many whom the nation delights to honor, and she has been foremost in all good deeds. Remembering that these all rest ultimately on the animal in her citizens, the following figures of the births per 1,000 population among her people during the years given are instructive:

1860	United States census	25.61
1870	" " "	22.63
1875	State census	20.60
1880	United States census	21.08
1885	State census	18.47
1890	United States census	19.22

Ordinarily speaking, the birth rate of a race is regulated by the food supply, and where there is an abundance of food the population increases in a ratio which may be easily ascertained. Now while I am willing to grant that the conditions of life in Massachusetts were easier in 1860 than they are now—that is, it was easier for a man to earn that which would enable him to buy sufficient food for his children—I do not think the difference in the conditions can correspond with that of the birth rate. If the opposite be alleged, we are required to believe in a deterioration of one-quarter in these conditions during a period of thirty years, and that with the knowledge that were the agricultural methods of Belgium applied to the soil of Massachusetts, the amount of food

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produced would be two and one-third times what it is to-day. I submit this is a demonstration *ad absurdum*. Is it to be supposed that the conditions of life in Massachusetts are as severe as those in London, England? In the year 1883 the percentage of pauperism in London, of persons receiving in-door or out-door relief, was 29.6 in the 1,000, while in Massachusetts it was less than 10. Yet the birth rate in London during the past eighteen years has remained nearly stationary, from 35 in 1875 to 33 in 1892.

The birth rate of the whole of the United States has steadily fallen from 1880, running from 36 in the 1,000 of population in that year to 30 in 1890. Dr. Billings, Director of the Division of Vital Statistics of the last census, to whose work I am indebted for the statistics given, says:

> "It is probable that the most important factor in the change is the deliberate and voluntary avoidance and prevention of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people, who not only prefer to have but few children, but who know how to obtain their wish."

While I agree with Dr. Billings in thinking the number is "steadily increasing," I am forced to disagree with him in his estimate of the principal cause. I believe this can be found in the fact that an enormous and constantly increasing number of our women are so exhausted physically before marriage that the birth of one child, or at the most of two children, leaves them physical wrecks. This brings me back once more to the strains put upon growing girls, for it is apparent that there is nothing in the food supply of this country to account for the decrease in the birth rate. The United States has not as yet had one-third of its development, and the land of the country would support five times the present population. If it were utilized, as is land in parts of China, it would support a people twenty times as numerous.

It may not be denied that every girl or woman has the right to remain single if she so elect. It is equally apparent that if she chooses she may devote all her strength to mental effort. It therefore follows that could we know beforehand that a girl would refuse to marry, we could be certain that we were right in placing extreme mental strains on her. Unfortunately, no one may decide such a thing for another, and neither the parents nor the

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community have a right to assume that such a decision will be arrived at. As the community can only exist by the continued birth of children, it is plain that any treatment by it of the girls which will incapacitate them to perform their natural functions is, to the last degree, suicidal. While the parents would naturally prefer that their daughters should be healthy and strong, they have not the same interest in that health and strength as the community, for their existence does not depend thereon. So far as the strains placed on the girls in the schools are to be considered, these are, under our system of public schools, regulated by the community. If, then, I am right in ascribing chiefly to these strains that physical exhaustion of the young women, which is showing itself in the birth rate, we have before us the extraordinary spectacle of the community making war on itself.

The most marked advance made by the human race during the last twenty years, an advance greater in importance than are all the discoveries and inventions of that period, has been in the enfranchisement of American women. To the person who looks at their status to-day and compares it with that of 1870, the change is wonderful. It is natural that the pendulum should swing as far one way as it swung the other, and that in their greater freedom, especially of the mind, the women should go to excess. Just as for centuries their minds were sacrificed to their bodies by the will of others, so now by their own will they are sacrificing their bodies to their minds. This will remedy itself in time; there need be no fear that it will continue forever, unless, indeed, the human race be destined to end in an apotheosis of intellect! But the time necessary for the reaction may be shortened by a free discussion of the evils of the present course, and no one who realizes the suffering and pain which results from causes now at work will hesitate to point out these evils. It is the duty of every physician to exert his influence to save the growing girls from strains too great for them, and it is the duty of the mothers to save their daughters.

There is another aspect of the question which was very forcibly brought to my attention in a conversation in which one of the speakers was a gentleman of very great wealth whose only son is engaged to a German girl. One of these present said laughingly that the prospective bridegroom had shown a lack of patriotism

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in his choice, and that America contributed more than her fair share to the support of foreigners in the marriages of her girls. "I should like to have more than one grandchild, for there is money enough, and I do not want my son to bear the sorrow I have borne. It means a good deal to a man to be forced to watch the person who is dearest to him a hopeless invalid," was the answer. I could not help noticing the quick look of sympathy on the faces of half the men there.

While no one can respect or sympathize with this sorrow more than the physician, to no one does the scientific significance of the first part of the speech more forcibly appeal. If there be any truth shown by the history of the development of the human race—of any animal race for that matter—it is that the members of that race will not permit those causes to exist which threaten its continuance. One sex is as much interested as the other in the result, but the desire for offspring is stronger in the male than in the female. It follows, therefore, that if the system of education prevents American women having children, and if the influence of those women is strong enough to put a stop to any change in that system, or if those women refuse to be mothers, American men will, so far as they can, marry girls of other races. Nothing would be easier than to place a construction on this which would make it ridiculous, because the racial movement, of which it would be the expression, would be an exceptionally slow one and would be modified by a thousand influences. I do not mean, then, that there would be another "Rape of the Sabines," or that the young men of America would assemble in crowds to meet the emigrant ships even as the men of Louisiana assembled to meet the ships from France. I do mean that in time there would gradually permeate through the minds of men the understanding that health was a requisite in the women they would make their wives, and that this would probably show itself in health having that attraction for men which beauty now has. Healthy girls, girls with stamina, would then have the same advantage over their less fortunate sisters that is now possessed by the pretty girls over those that are ugly. Ultimately, therefore, the remedy for the evil lies in the hands of the men.

It is not, however, in the least degree probable that the remedy must be found there. The women of America are not fools, and it is impossible that they should not see to what end the

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causes at work are now tending. More than this, they are the proper persons to move in the matter, for they are the greatest sufferers.

CYRUS EDSON.

IV.—WOMEN AND THE WORLD.

BY BERTHA MONROE RICKOFF.

How long before the spirited American society girl will have some higher ambition placed before her than social success? In learning, as she inevitably does, that society is a fabrication of forms, not feelings, she soon becomes surfeited with its artificial requirements, and, seeking some more vital contact with life, places all of her happiness upon her love and marriage, not comprehending that no one can be happy who has not some purpose outside the field of his emotions. Thus, in trying to make of love not only the foundation but the superstructure of her existence, she wonders when it fails to meet her exactions, and begins to question the reality of her romance. Since her love does not afford her the happiness which novels and relations have led her to expect, she begins to sigh for a love which will.

The world, therefore, graciously permits her to pursue her *ignis fatuus* and to take up flirtations leading to the divorce court, from which she returns to society an object of still greater interest than she was in her girlhood, if one may credit a clever sketch of the divorcée which recently appeared in a popular periodical. Or, her ideals denying her this *dénouement*, she may throw herself into a species of amateur performance called charity, where, while she succeeds in binding up wounds and satisfying her own boundless sympathies, she thwarts the efforts of the social scientist, and cultivates paupers at an enormous rate of increase. She is even permitted that pretence at industry, light handiwork, a routine accomplishment of what is better done by machinery, or in art studies and literary societies she may find occupations, which, while being more soul-satisfying than fancy work, lack the stamp of purpose, because essentially amateur. Society, while thus petting her, as the husband does Nora in the *Doll's House*, denies her the sustenance of an inspiring purpose and turns in upon her a force which tends, as do all unemployed energies, to render her morbid and unhappy.

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The life and occupations of a society woman, in failing to awaken her to her full development, fail also in rendering her companionable to the business man, who has little time to indulge his taste for æsthetics. It is the wife's over-valuation of sentiment, and the lack of sympathy and comradeship between husband and wife, which lead to the well-worn statement that marriage is a failure; but may not the truth rather lie in the fact that marriage is a failure in just so far as woman is a failure? Can she ever grow to her full status and stand on the same plane with man as long as she continues a creature of cramped and undeveloped energies?

Any approach to a solution of the problem of what else to do with the leisure of woman than to grant her undisputed social sway is met by the ideal picture of the mother and child. It is not for the mother with her child that any plea for a higher motive or a greater happiness need be made. No holier call can reach her than that of her children; but the period when children engross all of a woman's life is transitory, and there comes a time when the child is better to walk alone, and when the mother turns to an empty home, where the college boy and the married daughter come but as guests. Even the early youth of a child should be free to form companionships other than that of its mother, and in the republic of a school should be developed the the force of its own individuality. It is for the woman in whose ears the cry of her children does not or may never ring that this special plea should be made.

So while never countenancing a forgetfulness of the responsibilities of motherhood, where are we to look for some purpose for the life of woman which will contribute to her more rounded development? Some suggest a higher education, but these lose the very pith of their argument in confining their estimate of a higher education to the club life of a woman's college, where, shut off from domesticity, she never learns woman's peculiar duties, and where, separated from the opposite sex, she acquires an abnormal devotion to her own, depreciating the force man is and must ever be in a woman's life. The history of the evolution of sociology proves conclusively that a change in social conditions must take place, and may not the change which progress holds in store for society be that all women become self-supporting? The expression "self-supporting" is used merely to give a stamp

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to woman's work whereby it will be endowed with purpose and recognized as of value, for, as is the case with man, the money which work brings is the valid proof of its worth.

That many women are already self-supporting from necessity it is needless to say, but woman's work as a necessity can never win for it its rightful place, as woman's work for the fulfilment of her destiny must eventually do. If remunerative work become a recognized form of education for woman, it must become a social factor. Herein would lie a legitimate field for her misdirected energies; herein would she at last grow like a plant taken from the darkness into the light, developing to her highest possibilities until she would become indeed a helpmate for man. At present she is clamoring at closed doors with the cry of woman's rights, but if she controlled large industries and corporations her rights would come seeking her. And if women did engage in business affairs and saw the effect which elections would have upon their prosperity, they would not long lack interest in the franchise.

The present attitude of society towards the working-woman is disapproving, and not without reason. In the first place, the positions she has assumed are as a rule subordinate and not such as would entitle a man to social recognition; the tutor, the secretary, the stenographer, for instance, are not usually invited to the dinners of the capitalist. Society is even gracious in opening its doors to the working-woman on sufferance, regarding her as one of fallen fortunes, to be commiserated, not blamed. It is this spirit towards them which prompts a large number of women, if they must work for money, to shield name and family distinction behind the sign of an "Exchange for Woman's Work," a cowardice which should elicit little sympathy, for a work of which its master is ashamed can never contribute to the development of his character.

In the second place, women deprive their work of dignity by refusing to regard it as permanent as long as they may hope to escape from it by marriage. This fact not only gives to their work an adventitious character, but injures its money value, for an employer is loth to pay to an employee who may leave him at any moment the same that he would pay to one whose support must continue to depend upon his work. For this same reason it is almost impossible to arouse any *esprit de corps* or to establish any self-helping organization among working-women. The

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world is, however, cruel in placing a certain stigma upon the bravely self-supporting woman, regarding her as one who, through lack of personal attractions, has failed to find a husband to support her, whereas the stigma should rather rest upon the woman who marries to be supported.

A grave consideration, which always meets the idea that women have any other sphere than that of domesticity, is her duty to the home. But, in arguments of this kind, the duty of every woman to her home is regarded as coincident with that of the farmer's wife, while the fact that the American woman of to-day should be competent to supervise the management of her household by no means necessitates that she become a practical workman in each branch of its industry. Nor need the household be less cared for because she is self-supporting, for a business or professional training will rather give her a more thoughtful direction for her energies, and she will learn the money value of system and concentration. Her household will be dominated by the spirit of an enlightened woman, who, in losing the attribute of womanishness, has gained the element of womanliness, and home will become, not merely the hotel which best cares for one's physical necessities, but a divine institution where woman's spirit is supreme, a perfect republic where liberty is combined with unity.

It will be argued that freedom from the duties better relegated to servants is the province of the rich woman, but were women self-supporting, money would be forthcoming for service in the home, where the supported woman feels bound to save by contributing her otherwise unremunerative hours to a domestic's duties, as such economy is her only means of adding to the family exchequer. The very question of household service would begin to solve itself did it become a recognized and permanent industry, not a makeshift preceding marriage.

If educated women engaged in work worthy of their capacity, by this influx of energy the hours which a business or a profession demands of a man would be decreased, and he would be afforded opportunity to share in the influence over his children, an influence which should be exerted by the father as well as the mother, and which the exigencies of modern life usually leave to the mother, nor would the father find the softening influence of his child's unworldly nature without its value, needing, as he

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does, to be lifted at times into an atmosphere above selfish competition.

There is continual complaint that man is overworked, but is this overwork occasioned by the necessities of his family more than it is by the indulgence of thirst for financial conquest? He may be slow to yield a share of his triumphs to woman, but one day he will see that her desire to partake of the elixir of genuine success is by no means a desire to deprive him of any part of his glory, for this she will ever cherish more dearly than her own, but that her sharing in his enthusiasms will bring her nearer to him, and, in turn, affording him opportunity to share in her life, will once more render possible to him a realization of his early ideals of love and happiness.

Not only will the relations of man and wife thus become more sympathetic, but if woman become an active element in the world of affairs, she will be afforded opportunities for contact with desirable men, which are denied the society girl; for while for the best of our womanhood society is the recognized aim, for man it is an episode, to be endured or shunned, more wisely shunned if he have earnest purposes; and men of force, those whose characters are being forged in our national struggles, those who are building up our colossal industries, are not usually recruited from the so-called "Four Hundred."

The busy man, who hesitates to risk the happiness of life in the lottery of a fashionable marriage, will in this association with her have opportunity to estimate woman for something besides her sensuous charm, and his love will grow upon a more practical foundation than a fascination which, being largely physical, must come to an end as soon as its novelty has worn off; while the *débutante*, whether or no she possesses the superficial attractions of the ball-room, will have opportunity to show the attributes of her character as well as her personal charm, and be able to command a love in which the spirit shall rule the flesh, a love founded on congenialty of character and pursuits.

BERTHA MONROE RICKOFF.

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AN EPISCOPAL VIEW OF HEAVEN.

BY THE REV. REGINALD HEBER HOWE.

THE question, what Heaven is, is one with which the mind of man never ceases to engage itself. It has been so from the earliest times, it doubtless will be so to the end. The Greeks had their Elysium, where, in the words of Pindar, "The righteous dead inherit a tearless eternity." Here was the place, a plain at the end of the earth, where the air was always tempered by the zephyrs wafted in from the ocean and there was neither snow nor storm, heat nor cold. There were the asphodel meadows which none but the pure in heart, the truthful and the generous could be suffered to tread. The Egyptians had their Amenti, the hidden place into which, identified with or protected by Osiris, the righteous dead passed. The Scandinavians had their Walhalla, where fallen heroes were and where the favorite horse and armor were ever ready for use; and

> "Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears Him in the wind,
> His soul proud science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk and milky way.
> Yet simple nature to his hope has given
> Behind the cloud cap't hills a humbler heaven.
> To be content's his natural desire,
> He asks no angel's wings, no seraph's fire;
> But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Probably every man has at some time or other asked himself the question, speculated or wondered what heaven is. What may we believe with regard to it?

Very few words will suffice to tell what the Episcopal Church has had to say on the subject. It is not one on which she has

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spoken definitely or except in a very general way, and for the best of reasons. There is little definitely revealed. If we turn to the two great symbols which she has adopted as the expression of her faith, the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed, all that we shall find there are the articles: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." "He" (Jesus Christ) "ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." "I believe in the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." These in the Apostles' Creed, and in the Nicene the additional clause: "Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven;" and the somewhat different phraseology of the closing sentences: "I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

If we turn to the Articles of Religion we discover absolutely nothing but the single sentence in Art. IV. answering almost exactly to the language of the Creeds: "Wherewith He ascended into heaven and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day."

In her Prayer Book are constant and beautiful references to Heaven. Almost the first word spoken to the worshippers when they assemble in the house of God bids them to "the throne of the heavenly grace." "So that at the last we may come to His eternal joy," ends one Form of Absolution, "and bring you to everlasting life" the other. The familiar words "Our Father, who art in heaven, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" are used again and again. "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory," sings the *Te Deum*. "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." "Make them to be numbered with Thy saints in glory everlasting." "Finally after this life to attain everlasting joy and felicity." "We may rise to the life immortal." "That we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love Thee." "Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity."

Such are representative fragments only of prayers which the church is continually putting into the lips of her children.

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Her authorized Hymnal bids us sing hymns the burden of which is much the same, only with the larger license of song, and hardly to be appealed to for accurate teaching. But this exhausts her voice on the subject. So far as she has spoken as a Church this completes her testimony as to what heaven is, and the future life of the blessed. In the main, and wisely, it is positive witness to the fact of the everlasting life, and silence as to its opposite. But from it we may derive not a little light in answer to our question what heaven is?

Our immortality is not an immortality of the soul only, which was the belief of the ancients. "I believe in the Resurrection of the body and the Life everlasting," so says the shorter of the two Creeds.

The doctrine of the Resurrection of the body has been carried to such absurd lengths that there has not unnaturally been a reaction from belief in it in any form. But it states unquestionably a truth. Death, so far as we know anything about it, is a separation of soul and body. The dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Coming to life again, or resurrection, is their reunion. That the soul will have a tabernacle in the future life; that this tabernacle will be such that each one's identity shall be preserved; that it will be fitted for its new mode of being and the changed conditions of the heavenly life, this seems to be clearly taught. Indeed, as we know ourselves, a soul without a body is beyond our conception of what constitutes man. So far as we can tell, the body is necessary to the completeness of our being. "Nothing is more common," says Westcott, "than to hear it assumed that the soul is the real self. Yet nothing can be more clear, upon reflection, than that the only self of which we are conscious is made up of soul and body. The workings of these two are absolutely inseparable. We cannot contemplate the independent action of the two for an instant." Metempsychosis does not at all meet the case. "And therefore," he continues in language and in statement which cannot be improved, "I believe in the resurrection of the body. I believe, that is, that all that belongs to the essence of my person will remain through a change which the imagination cannot realize. But that of which we speak as destined to a resurrection is not that substance which we can see and handle measured by properties of sense. It represents, as far as we now see, our-

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selves in our actual weakness, but essentially ourselves. We, in our whole being, this is our belief, shall rise again. And we are not these changing bodies which we bear. They alter, as we know, with every step we take and every breath we draw. We make them, if I may so speak, make them naturally, necessarily under the laws of our present existence. They are to ourselves, to use a bold figure, as the spoken word to the thought, the expression of the invisible.

> 'For of the soul the body form doth take,
> For soul is form and doth the body make.'

When, therefore, the laws of our existence are hereafter modified, then we, because we are unchanged, shall find some other expression truly the 'same' in relation to that new order, because it is not the 'same' as that to which it corresponds in this."

We cannot do better than to keep to what St. Paul teaches in regard to it under the figure which he thought best expressed it. From how many misconceptions this would have saved us. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him and to every seed *his own body*. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body."

In such a tabernacle is the soul to abide forever, and so far as the form in which we are to live the everlasting life is concerned, this, as far as it lies in our power to give it, is the answer to our question.

"Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations, where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity." These words give us another feature of the nature of the future life of the blessed, in regard to which there can be no doubt. It is to be one of perfect peace and happiness. And this involves certain deductions. No sin can be there. It would be an exotic in that clime. The imagery of heaven we may not be able to interpret, nor to comprehend all for which the wealth of figure used to describe it may stand, but we know that "there shall in nowise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie."

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"Without holiness shall no man see the Lord;" it would not be happiness to him if he did. John Henry Newman has wonderfully expressed the thought in the words to the soul which he puts into the angel's mouth in the *Dream of Gerontius:*

> "And these two pains, so counter and so keen,
> The longing for Him when thou seest Him not;
> The shame of self at thought of seeing Him
> Will be thy veriest sharpest purgatory."

And the story of Norfolk Island illustrates it. Put a man in a place he is not fit for and which is not fit for him and he would not be happy. Men make their own heaven here, and in a very true sense they will make it hereafter.

And as there will be no sin, so there will be no sorrow. The two are intimately associated here. Eliminate one and you eliminate the other. How happiness comports with knowledge of others who have not inherited heaven, if we shall have such knowledge, is a question that has always perplexed mankind. We cannot answer it. We only know that in the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, "God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away."

Finally there shall be the happiness, perhaps as high as any that we know, of service. We are apt to forget this. So much has been said and written about a future of ceaseless antheming, the singing of unending psalms, "an eternity of the tabor," as some one has slurringly and irreverently expressed it, that we think of the heavenly life as consisting in this, and the thought is unsatisfactory and repellent. But "His servants shall serve Him," it is also told us, and we pray that our Father's will may be done on earth as in heaven. What form this service shall take we do not know, but it agrees with every instinct of our being to believe that great gifts brought to high possibilities of effective use here, and then apparently extinguished in death, have not really perished nor accomplished all that they ever shall. They must live on, we feel, in some other sphere to do still better service for God and man.

> "Somewhere, surely, afar,
> In the sounding labor house vast
> Of being, is practised that strength."

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As Matthew Arnold wrote of his father, after death, in heaven, as in the intermediate condition in Paradise, the righteous shall be in perfect happiness, for there shall be no more sin or sorrow, only the bliss of the perpetual service of God, and of dwelling forever within the beauty of His countenance.

Beyond these limits we enter the region of individual opinion and speculation, to which there is no end. Of these are born the crudest and most grotesque conceptions of the nature of the future life, as various in character as the varieties of the human mind. Every image has been pushed to its utmost, and with the fullest literalness of interpretation, and heaven has been conceived of accordingly: a veritable city, with its walls and its gates and its streets, with its trees and its river, and its sea of glass, and the nations of them that are saved walk in it.

If such conceptions help any one to think of heaven as more real, to long for it, to long to be fit to dwell in it, who shall find fault or restrain them? Only let us remember that these are speculations in more or less degree, the forms under which revelations of the life after death are made, not the revelation itself.

REGINALD HEBER HOWE.

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THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY AND THE POPE.

BY JOHN BIGELOW.

IN THE summer of 1863 it was decided by the Confederate statesmen at Richmond that they could not afford to depend entirely upon the arm of flesh for the success of their cause, and thereupon they determined to appeal to the sword of the Spirit as wielded by the church of Rome. The considerations which may be presumed to have prompted this appeal were

First, The numerical strength of the Catholics in the Northern States who would be likely to relax their zeal in the prosecution of the war if the Pope discountenanced it and,

Second, A desire to enlist the active sympathies of the Catholic countries of Europe, and especially of France and Austria, then already embarked in the ill-fated scheme to reëstablish monarchial and prelatical supremacy in Mexico.

Perhaps, too, they were encouraged to hope that a sympathetic word or two from Pius. IX. would help to weaken the faltering loyalty of Maryland and Missouri, the two Southern States in which members of the Catholic communion exert much influence upon public opinion. Upon the evangelical principle of gathering up the fragments that nothing be lost, it was accordingly decided at once to lay siege to the Vatican. Dudley Mann, who became a superfluity in London on the arrival of Commissioner Mason at his post, was authorized by Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, to repair to Rome and open the trenches with the secular arm, to be speedily followed and reënforced by such spiritual enginery as could be found available and brought up in season.

At the same time that Mann was sent to Rome, Father Bannon, of Richmond, was sent with instructions from Benjamin "to enlighten the people of Ireland in regard to the true character of

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the war, etc." He was clothed with authority to go also to Rome "for the purpose," said the Secretary, "of obtaining such sanction from the Sovereign Pontiff as will strengthen your hands and give efficiency to your action." Father Bannon was to receive £20 a month for his personal expenses and fare to and fro. The fiscal agent of the Confederacy in London was instructed to provide for his other expenses, such as printing, extra travel and a suitable remuneration for an associate from the North, "if,"—so ran his instructions,—"you can find one entirely trustworthy and you find it advisable to secure his aid." This also was to be a Catholic priest. What Father Bannon accomplished, if anything, by his mission, beyond getting out of Richmond, which had already become anything but a cheerful residence, and having his expenses paid during his absence, the records of the Confederacy have left no trace. We can imagine from what occurred of public notoriety that his labors were not rewarded with any such measure of success as to deserve more attention from the historian than they seem to have received from the Secretary of State, and that could hardly have been less.

A few months after Father Bannon embarked on his mission, as if the Richmond government was already aware that he was not accomplishing nor likely to accomplish much, either with St. Patrick or with St. Peter, Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, was sent out, armed with a letter of introduction from Benjamin to Slidell, the Confederate Commissioner in Paris, and with something more than a strictly apostolic equipment, to labor exclusively with the Pope. In his letter of introduction Benjamin did not explain the purpose of this mission, but said simply that Lynch "is proceeding to Europe on a visit which he will fully explain to you." He doubtless thought, as Mason did in regard to his troubled dinner-table interview with the Earl of Donoughmore, that what was afoot "had better not be spread upon the records of the State department."

Of his mission we shall have more to say presently. We now return to Mr. Dudley Mann and his ecclesiastical mission. Happily he has acted as his own historian. His preliminary successes were recorded in the following epistle to Benjamin:

Dudley Mann to Judah Benjamin:

ROME, November 14, 1863.

SIR: At three o'clock of the afternoon of yesterday I received a formal notification that His Holiness would favor me with an audience, embracing

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my private secretary, Mr. W. Grayson Mann, to-day at twelve o'clock. I accordingly proceeded to the Vatican, sufficiently early to enable me to reach there fifteen minutes in advance of the designated hour. In five minutes afterwards—ten minutes prior to the appointed time—a message came from the Sovereign Pontiff that he was ready to receive me, and I was accordingly conducted into his presence.

His Holiness stated, after I had taken my stand near to his side, that he had been so afflicted by the horrors of the war in America that many months ago he had written to the Archbishops at New Orleans and New York to use all the influence that they could properly employ for terminating, with as little delay as possible, the deplorable state of hostilities; that from the former he had received no answer, but that he had heard from the latter, and his communication was not such as to inspire hope that his ardent wishes would be speedily gratified.

I then remarked, that "it is to a sense of profound gratitude of the Executive of the Confederate States and of my countrymen, for the earnest manifestation which Your Holiness made in the appeal referred to, that I am indebted for the distinguished honor which I now enjoy. President Davis has appointed me special envoy to convey in person to your Holiness this letter, which I trust you will receive in a similar spirit to that which animated its author."

Looking for a moment at the address and afterwards at the seal of the letter, His Holiness took his scissors and cut the envelope. Upon opening it he observed: "I see it is in English, a language which I do not understand." I remarked: "If it will be agreeable to Your Holiness my secretary will translate its contents to you." He replied: "I shall be pleased if he will do so." The translation was rendered in a slow, solemn and emphatic pronunciation. During its progress, I did not cease for an instant to carefully survey the features of the Sovereign Pontiff. A sweeter expression of pious affection, of tender benignity, never adorned the face of mortal man. No picture can adequately represent him when exclusively absorbed in Christian contemplation. Every sentence of the letter appeared to sensibly affect him. At the conclusion of each he would lay his hand down upon the desk and bow his head approvingly. When the passage was reached, wherein the President states, in such sublime and affecting language: "We have offered up at the footstool of our Father who art in Heaven prayers inspired by the same feeling which animates your Holiness" his deep sunken orbs, visibly moistened, were upturned towards that throne upon which ever sits the Prince of Peace, indicating that his heart was pleading for our deliverance from that causeless and merciless war which is prosecuted against us. The soul of infidelity, if indeed infidelity have a soul, would have melted in view of so sacred a spectacle.

The emotion occasioned by the translation was succeeded by a silence of some time. At length His Holiness asked whether President Davis was a Catholic. I answered in the negative. He then asked if I was one. I assured him that I was not. His Holiness now stated, to use his own language, that "Lincoln and Co." had endeavored to create an impression abroad that they were fighting for the abolition of slavery and that it might be judicious in us to consent to gradual emancipation. I replied that the subject of slavery was one over which the Government of the Confederate States, like that of the old United States, had no control whatever; that all ameliorations with regard to the institution must proceed from the

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States themselves, which were as sovereign in their character, in this regard, as was France, Austria, or any other Continental power; that true philanthropy shuddered at the thought of a liberation of the slave in the manner attempted by "Lincoln and Co."; that such a procedure would be practically to convert the well-cared-for civilized negro into a semi-barbarian; that such of our slaves as had been captured or decoyed off by our enemy were in an incomparably worse condition than while they were in the service of their masters; that they wished to return to their old homes, the love of which was the strongest of their affections; that if, indeed, African slavery were an evil, there was a power which in its own good time would doubtless remove that evil in a more gentle manner than that of causing the earth to be deluged with blood for its sudden overthrow. His Holiness received these remarks with an approving expression. He then said that I had reason to be proud of the self-sacrificing devotion of my countrymen, from the beginning, to the cause for which they are contending. "The most ample reason," I replied; "and yet, scarcely so much as of my countrywomen, whose patriotism, whose sorrows and privations, whose transformation in many instances from luxury to penury, were unparalleled and could not be adequately described by any living language. There they had been from the beginning—there they were still, more resolute if possible than ever—emulating in devotion, earthly though it was in its character, those holy female spirits who were the last at the Cross, and the first at the Sepulchre.

His Holiness received this statement with evident satisfaction and then said: "I would like to do anything that can be effectively done, or that even promises good results, to aid in putting an end to this most terrible war, which is harming the good of all the earth; if I knew how to proceed."

I availed myself of this declaration to inform His Holiness that it was not the armies of Northern birth which the South was encountering in hostile array, but that it was the armies of European creation, occasioned by the Irish and Germans, chiefly the former, who were influenced to emigrate (by circulars from "Lincoln & Co." to their numerous agents abroad) ostensibly for the purpose of securing higher wages, but in reality to fill up the constantly depleted ranks of our enemy; that these poor unfortunates were tempted by high bounties, amounting to five hundred, six hundred, and seven hundred dollars, to enlist and take up arms against us; that, once in the service, they were invariably placed in the most exposed points of danger in the battlefield; that, in consequence thereof, an instance had occurred in which an almost entire brigade had been left dead or wounded upon the ground; that, but for foreign recruits, the North would most likely have broken down months ago in the absurd attempt to overpower the South.

His Holiness expressed his utter astonishment repeatedly, throwing up his hands, at the employment of such means against us and the cruelty attendant upon such unscrupulous operations.

"But your Holiness," said I, "Lincoln & Co. are even more wicked, if possible, in their ways, than in decoying innocent Irishmen from their homes to be murdered in cold blood. Their champions, and would your Holiness believe it, unless it were authoritatively communicated to you?—their pulpit champions have boldly asserted this as a sentiment: 'Greek fire for the families and cities of the rebels, and Hell-fire for their chiefs.'"

His Holiness was startled at this information, and immediately observed: "Certainly no Catholic would reiterate so monstrous a sentiment."

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I replied, "Assuredly not. It finds a place exclusively in the hearts of the fiendish, vagrant pulpit buffoons whose number is legion, and who impiously undertake to teach the doctrine of Christ, for ulterior sinister purposes."

His Holiness now observed: "I will write a letter to President Davis, and of such a character that it may be published for general perusal." I expressed my heartfelt gratification for the assertion of this purpose. He then remarked, half inquiringly: "You will remain here several months"? I, of course, could not do otherwise than answer in the affirmative. Turning to my secretary he asked several kind questions personal to himself, and bestowed upon him a handsome compliment. He then extended his hand, as a signal for the end of the audience, and I retired.

Thus terminated one of the most remarkable conferences that ever a foreign representative had with a potentate of the earth. And such a potentate! A potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race, and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere.

How strikingly majestic was the conduct of the Government of the Pontifical States in its bearings towards me when contrasted with the sneaking subterfuges to which some of the governments of western Europe have had recourse in order to evade intercourse with our commissioners. Here I was openly received at the Department of Foreign Affairs, openly received by an appointment at Court, in accordance with established usages and customs, and treated from beginning to end with a consideration which might be envied by the envoy of the oldest member of the family of nations. The audience was of forty minutes' duration—an unusually long one.

I have written this despatch very hurriedly, and fear that it will barely be on time for the monthly steamer which goes off from Liverpool with the mail for the Bahama Islands next Saturday.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State, C. S. A.

As the Pope did not speak nor even read English there is no occasion to be surprised at the greater fulness with which Mr. Mann's remarks are reported than those of his interlocutor. In fact the missionary's confidence in the complete conversion of the Pope to his views seems to have been inspired not by anything the Sovereign Pontiff said, for he said nothing to the purpose, but to have been extracted from his features "which no picture can adequately represent," while listening to the translation of Davis's letter.

But the stage of this interview at which Mann's gifts as a diplomatist stand out in boldest relief is when asked if he or Jefferson Davis was a Catholic. At that question almost any one less earnest and single-eyed in the prosecution of his work would have seen that the string of his kite had broken; that, as Uncle Remus would say, "he had dropped his molasses jug." Justice to Mr.

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Mann compels us to admit that he did nothing of the kind; on the contrary he was prepared to say in the language of King David, replying to the anti-terpsichorean reproaches of his Philistine wife: "I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight."

This curious interview occurred on the 13th of November. On the 8th of December following Mr. Mann received an official reply to the fateful letter of which he had been the bearer, that overcame him scarcely less than the personal presence and appearance of the Pope. He evidently thought it would not only end the war, but make him its hero—the Washington or rather the Franklin of the new republic. Because the Pope addressed Davis by the title which he found subscribed to that functionary's letter, Mann leaped somewhat precipitately to the conclusion that the Confederate government had been acknowledged "by as high an authority as the world contains."

In order that his left hand should not be in ignorance of what his right hand had been about he proffers the Confederate Secretary of State his advice to have his correspondence, including the Pope's letter, published officially in Richmond, but meantime proposes on his own responsibility to put the obligations of the Confederacy to him in this business out at interest as soon as possible by having the documents published without delay in the London *Times*. This purpose, together with the triumphant results of his mission, he thus announced to his chief in Richmond.

Mann to Benjamin:

ROME, December 9, 1863.

SIR: The Cardinal Secretary of State Antonelli officially transmitted to me yesterday the answer of the Pope to the President.

In the very direction of this communication there is a positive recognition of our government. It is addressed "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America." Thus we are acknowledged by as high an authority as this world contains to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you, I congratulate the President, I congratulate his cabinet, in short, I congratulate all my true hearted countrymen and countrywomen upon this benign event. The hand of the Lord has been in it, and eternal glory and praise be to His holy and righteous name.

The document is in the Latin language, as are all documents prepared by the Pope. I cannot incur the risk of its capture at sea, and therefore I shall retain it until I can convey it, with entire certainty, to the President. It will adorn the archives of our country in all coming time. I expect to receive a copy of it in time for transmission by the steamer which carries

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this (*via* New York) to Nassau. I shall leave here by the 15th inst., and will proceed to Paris and from thence to Brussels and London.

The example of the Sovereign Pontiff, if I am not much mistaken, will exercise a salutary influence upon both the Catholic and Protestant governments of western Europe. Humanity will be aroused everywhere to the importance of its early emulation.

I have studiously endeavored to prevent the appearance of any telegraphic or other communications in the newspapers in relation to my mission. The nature of it, however, is generally known in official circles here and it has been mentioned in one or more journals. The letters, in my opinion, ought to be officially published at Richmond, under a call for the correspondence by the one or the other branch of Congress. In the meantime I shall communicate to the European press, probably through the London *Times*, the substance of those letters. I regard such a procedure as of primary importance in view of the interests of peace, and I am quite sure that the Holy Father would rejoice at seeing those interests benefited in this or any other effective manner.

I have the honor to be, etc.

We learn from the following, which accompanied the Pope's letter "To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis," that the Christmas holidays were fixed upon as "the most propitious season for enlightening the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope," and for reasons which are in the highest degree edifying.

Mann to Benjamin:

ROME, December 12, 1863.

SIR: Herewith I have the honor to transmit the copy sent to me yesterday of the original, in Latin, of the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff to President Davis. I have taken a duplicate of it. A period of more than a week elapsed between the date of the letter and the delivery of the copy.

I shall repair to Paris immediately, where, after conferring with Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason (from each of whom I have just received the kindest of letters), I shall proceed to Brussels. After a stay there of a day or two I shall go to London. The Christmas season will be a propitious period for exciting the sympathies of the British public in behalf of the sublime initiative of the Pope. The people of England are never better at heart than during the joyous anniversary of the birth of Him whose cause was "Peace on earth, good will towards men."

Strange to say, a recent number of the *Court Journal* of London contains one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Why it was so strange that "one of the most beautiful encomiums ever written upon the eminent purity of character of His Holiness" should have appeared in the *Court Journal*, there is probably no one now living who can explain.

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After reading these enthusiastic accounts of the Pope's letter and the revolutions of public sentiment it was destined to work in Europe as well as in the United States it is interesting to read the letter itself to see how much more Mr. Mann's penetrating glance and lively imagination found in it than it disclosed to his official chief when it reached him.

Pius P. P. IX. Illustrious and Honorable Mr. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, Greeting:

We have lately received with all kindness, as was meet, the gentlemen sent by your Excellency to present to us your letter dated on the 23d of last September. We have received certainly no small pleasure in learning both from these gentlemen and from your letter the feelings of gratification and very warm appreciation with which you, Illustrious and Honorable Sir, were moved when you first had knowledge of our letters written in October of the preceding year to the Venerable Brethren, John, Archbishop of New York, and John, Archbishop of New Orleans, in which we again and again urged and exhorted those Venerable Brethren that because of their exemplary piety and episcopal zeal they should employ the most earnest efforts, in our name also, in order that the fatal civil war which had arisen in the States should end, and that the people of America might again enjoy mutual peace and concord, and love each other with mutual charity. And it has been very gratifying to us to recognize, Illustrious Sir, that you and your people are animated by the same desire for peace and tranquillity, which we had so earnestly inculcated in our aforesaid letter to the venerable Brethren above named. Oh, that the other people also of the States and their rulers, considering seriously how cruel and how deplorable is this intestine war, would receive and embrace the counsels of peace and tranquillity! We indeed shall not cease with most fervent prayers to beseech God, the Best and Highest, and to implore Him to pour out the spirit of Christian love and peace upon all the people of America, and to rescue them from the great calamities with which they are afflicted. And we also pray the same most Merciful Lord that he will illume your Excellency with the light of His divine grace, and unite you with ourselves in perfect charity.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 3d December, 1863, in the eighteenth year of our Pontificate. PIUS P. P. IX.

By the time the Pope's letter had crossed the Atlantic it ceased to have the intoxicating effect which it had when first placed in Mr. Mann's hand and in the disguise of a learned language. Messrs. Davis and Benjamin had not encountered the paralyzing gaze "of a potentate who wields the consciences of one hundred and seventy-five millions of the civilized race"—exclusive of Davis and Mann—"and who is adored by that immense number as the Vice-Regent of Almighty God in this sublunary sphere."

Though he had never been in Rome, Benjamin knew the difference between a formula of politeness and an international engage-

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ment. In due course of mail Mr. Mann received from the Richmond Secretary of State the following commentary upon the pontifical rescript:

Benjamin to Mann:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
RICHMOND, 1st February, 1864.

Hon. A. Dudley Mann, etc., etc., etc., Brussels:

SIR: The President has been much gratified at learning the cordial reception which you received from the Pope, and the publication of the correspondence here (of which I send you a newspaper slip) has had a good effect. Its best influences, as we hope, will be felt elsewhere in producing a check on the foreign enlistments made by the United States. As a recognition of the Confederate States, we cannot attach to it the same value that you do, a mere inferential recognition unconnected with political action or the regular establishment of diplomatic relations possessing none of the moral weight required for awakening the people of the United States from their delusion that these States still remain members of the old Union. Nothing will end this war but the utter exhaustion of the belligerents, unless, by the action of some of the leading powers of Europe in entering into formal relations with us, the United States are made to perceive that we are in the eyes of the world a separate nation, and that the war now waged by them is *foreign*, not an *intestine* or *civil* war, as it is termed by the Pope. This phrase of his letter shows that his address to the President as "President of the Confederate States" is a formula of politeness to his correspondent, not a political recognition of the fact. None of our political journals treat the letter as a recognition in the sense you attach to it, and Mr. Slidell writes that the Nuncio at Paris, on whom he called, had received no instructions to put his official *visa* on our passports, as he had been led to hope from his correspondence with you. This, however, may have been merely a delay in the sending of the instructions. . . .

I am, very respectfully, etc.

Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Mann disappeared from the Confederate stage, the Pope remaining unconverted and impenitent. Not wholly discouraged however by the colorless tone of his letter, Davis and Benjamin seem to have received impressions from some quarter which warranted them in making another effort to enlist the sympathies of the Roman Curia in favor of the Confederate government; for early in the spring of 1864, they decided to send another missionary to the Vatican. This time they thought to make their emissary more acceptable by selecting him from the hierarchy. They found the man for their purpose, as they supposed, in Bishop Lynch, of Charleston. The most interesting particulars that are preserved of this mission are set forth by the Bishop himself in a letter to Benjamin written just before he embarked.

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Bishop Lynch to Benjamin:

CHARLESTON, S. C., 25th March, 1864.

Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State:

SIR: Since my return to Charleston I have devoted my time to the task of such arrangements as are required by my approaching departure, a task which the recent acts of Congress on the currency and taxes have rendered onerous and puzzling. Still I anticipate that I will be in Richmond on the day indicated by you, April 5, perhaps on the 4th. General Wise has written to me on the subject of Mr. W. C. Chapman going out as secretary, and the young gentleman has called on me on the same. I explained my own purposes; I intended, unless otherwise instructed, to procure a secretary in Europe, a person of standing, and who could write Italian and French well.

Mr. Chapman explains that what he desires is the secretaryship during the trip to Rome, leaving me as free to choose another secretary there as if this appointment were not made. In this view his appointment would be perfectly agreeable to me, and I stated so much to General Wise, and left it to him and Mr. Chapman to arrange the matter with you.

The suite of a Bishop travelling consists properly of two persons, a chaplain and a servant. I have chosen the first, a Rev. Mr. Renouf, a French clergyman, who will accompany me. I have not selected a body servant, and may not do so. But I presume there will be no difficulty in allowing both a passage in the same vessel I go on to Bermuda.

I have also written to Hon. S. R. Mallory, asking the privilege of taking out five bales of cotton, in the same vessel, with a view of covering some personal expenses, or to meet any emergency that may arise.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

P. N. LYNCH, D. D., B. C.

The Bishop's mission, as we all know, did not prove a success. Unhappily, the record of his experiences, which could hardly fail to possess a peculiar interest, to the political student at least, can not be found. His letters to Benjamin, with the exception of the one already cited, if he wrote any, appear to have been abstracted from the Confederate archives, whether before or since they came into the possession of our government we cannot say. We trust they have not been destroyed and that the time may come when it will be no one's interest to withhold them from the public eye.

In the autumn of 1865 and several months after peace was restored in the United States our Minister in Paris received the following letter from Mr. A. Cochin, a member of the Institute and a more or less conspicuous member of an anti-slavery society organized about that time in Paris under the auspices of Messrs. Laboulaye, Guizot, the Duc de Broglie and others. He was also author of a book against slavery which had procured for him an election to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

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Cochin to the American Minister :

(Translation.)

AZY, Nievre, September 2, 1865.

M. LE MINISTRE: I am in receipt of a letter from Doctor Lynch, Catholic bishop of Charleston, who is detained at Rome unable to return to his diocese in consequence of his exclusion by the amnesty proclamation of President Johnson.

I do not know precisely the cause of his exclusion. I believe Monsignor Lynch consented to come to solicit the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff in favor of peace, and that this mission with which he was charged by the rebel States has been esteemed a blamable act. In any case, now that the war is ended, and that it has become desirable to reconcile the disaffected, to relieve the destitute and protect the enfranchised, the return of the bishop of Charleston to that city, so justly but so severely punished, appears to be desirable. Should Irish emigrants be invited thither to reorganize labor, collisions may occur between them and the blacks which would render the presence of this prelate particularly useful.

The letter of Monsignor Lynch proves that he would consecrate himself with an exclusive devotion to these social duties. He is a loyal, intelligent, charitable man, worthy of respect and confidence.

He prays me to address you in his behalf, and I do so in the name of my friend the Count de Montalembert as well as in my own, well persuaded that you will kindly transmit to your government, with your favorable recommendation, the request for amnesty and permission to return which we make on behalf of the Catholic Bishop of Charleston.

Accept, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my respectful and devoted sentiments. (Signed) A. COCHIN.

To this letter the American Minister sent the following reply :

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, September 5, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. COCHIN: I have your note of the 2d inst. interceding for the pardon of Bishop Lynch, now or late agent near the court of Rome of persons in rebellion against the United States. His case comes under the first and seventh categories of exceptions from the President's amnesty. He was a foreign agent of the pretended Confederate government and he was an absentee from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. The proper course for him to pursue will be to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the President in his proclamation of 29th May, 1865, before the most convenient minister or consul, and then to address a personal application, to the President setting forth his claims to a pardon.

If he prefers it I will transmit his petition, though it would go more regularly through the legation at Rome, where, I infer from your letter, the bishop is sojourning. In any event, if thought desirable, on receiving copies of the bishop's petition and evidence that he has taken the oath prescribed, I will give him the benefit of your interest in his case near the President.

However, I may as well assure you now that nothing will go so far towards propitiating the pardoning power, in my opinion, as evidence that the Bishop is himself conscious of and sincerely regrets having betrayed his country and degraded his church by prostituting his sacred functions to the service of a foul and unnatural conspiracy against his country and government.

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Permit me also to suggest that, in setting forth his claims to the clemency of the President, Bishop Lynch will do well not to give prominence to the importance of his presence in America to prevent collisions between the Irish immigrants and the blacks. I cannot refrain from saying to you, my dear Mr. Cochin, that it is precisely such prelates as Bishop Lynch, partisans at once of slavery and treason, that have planted in the breasts of many of our Irish adopted citizens prejudices against the blacks, which have proved one of our most serious obstacles to the suppression of the late rebellion, and which, on quite a recent occasion, resulted in a massacre which deluged the streets of our commercial metropolis with African blood.

While the President may be persuaded to consent to Bishop Lynch's return to Charleston upon proper evidence of his contrition, I beg you will not remain under the impression that the Bishop's influence over any class of our population is in the least degree necessary to our people or government. Happily, Bishop Lynch's place in the Church can be readily supplied by men whose influence with their flock has never been weakened by treason, or by the denial to a part of the human race of the right which the great Head of the Church died to secure to all.

Receive, my dear sir, the assurance of my sentiments of respect and devotion, etc., etc.

In just five weeks after the Minister's letter to Mr. Cochin was posted, the Bishop appeared at the Legation in Paris and took the oath of loyalty required by the terms of President Johnson's proclamation of May 29, 1865. Why he did not take this oath at Rome before Mr. Marsh has not transpired. In due course of mail Mr. Seward informed the Minister in Paris that Bishop Lynch's pardon had been granted. "Some explanation," he said, "might not be improper, but the case is not of sufficient importance to make a record." The Bishop returned to Charleston a much wiser man than when he left and for the remainder of his life, I believe—he died in 1882—wisely confined himself pretty strictly to the duties of his episcopate.

Nothing more was ever heard of Confederate diplomacy at Rome or from Rome.

A perusal of the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederate government of which we have here given fairly characteristic specimens demonstrates two very important facts about which without it there might be room for an honest difference of opinion:

First, While it might have been difficult to organize an army of better soldiers or more competent officers in the whole United States than those who fought under the flag of the Confederacy, the men who planned the rebellion, controlled its policy,

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and directed its operations from Richmond, were about the most inadequate men that ever had their names prominently associated in history with the conduct of any great military enterprise in which it was necessary to enlist the sympathies of other enlightened nationalities. The admirable military qualities displayed by the Confederate army is a source not merely of sectional but of national pride; and they have rendered an enduring service to our country, of which, happily, the incompetence of those who controlled and directed its extraordinary energies can never deprive us.

Secondly, The best judgment, talent and virtue of the South were not responsible for the rebellion, were never fairly represented in its prosecution, and but for the ascendancy which a group of desperate demagogues had acquired in the politics of the South by causing it to be believed that they only could be trusted to protect the people from the confiscation of their slave property, the South would never have permitted its solicitude about slavery to ripen into rebellion. But for the four men whose names figure most conspicuously in the diplomatic correspondence of the Confederacy, Davis, Benjamin, Slidell and Mason, it is not rash to say that the late Civil War would never have stained the annals of our country.

Could anything accentuate the infatuation of these men in their attempt to equip from the old world a republican fortress for the protection and propagation of slavery in the new, it had to be sought in this effort to enlist the Pope and his church in their support. It is not so very surprising that neither Davis nor Benjamin nor any of their agents abroad was aware of the hostile attitude which the Church of Rome had always occupied towards chattel slavery, and that wherever it has prevailed in Catholic countries it has prevailed by permission or encouragement from the civil, not from the ecclesiastical, power. The studies of these statesmen may be presumed not to have ranged very widely in the domain of Ecclesiastical history. But how a bishop could have indulged the expectation for one moment, if Bishop Lynch did indulge it, that Pius IX., with a half dozen bulls of his predecessors, against holding our fellow-creature in bondage, staring him in the face, could have taken the first step towards countenancing this pro-slavery crusade in the United States, is quite incomprehensible. It is not unlikely that he was prepared

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to welcome any pretext for quitting a land where bishops, unless they were able-bodied and good marksmen, were not then of much use. If so, to one of his profession and rank, there was no pretext more available, it is to be presumed, than a mission to Rome, and it may have accomplished his objects, though it failed to prolong the life of the Confederacy or to add any lustre to the names of those who projected it. It was destined that they should learn through tribulation and shame that slavery, if it ever had been, was no longer king anywhere; that the time was past when it was possible to introduce a new slave State into the family of nations or for men of their ilk separately or together "to create a nation."

JOHN BIGELOW.

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TWO DRAMATIC REVOLUTIONS.

BY CLEMENT SCOTT.

THIRTY-THREE years have passed away since I first took an active part in chronicling the history of the English stage. Week in week out, month after month, year after year, I have been fighting with all the earnestness that is in me not only to gain this most important end, that the theatre should be before all things the amusement of the people, but that the drama should be, in a certain sense, the religion of the people also; helping them when they wavered, encouraging them when they felt inclined to fall away, strengthening them against scepticism, irreverence and doubt, and bringing before them, dinning into them and persuading them of the important and vital truth that human nature is the best, the truest and the safest guide after all. In the course of these thirty-three years there have been two distinct revolutions. By revolutions I mean two manifest upheavals, two volcanic eruptions as it were of slumbering passions and rival animosities, two determined changes of front, two indisputable instances where the critical trained band which is supposed to be the guard of the dramatic fortress found that it was a house divided against itself, a scattered regiment in mutiny. With the exception of my old and most respected friend Joseph Knight, still the dramatic critic of the *Athenæum*, and the author of the best dramatic biographies now extant, I do not believe there is any man now living who took an active part in the two dramatic revolutions of 1860 and 1890 except the writer of these lines.

In 1860 I fought as a youthful enthusiast to bring back vigor and intellectual life to the stage. Thirty-three years ago I fought for freedom, for universality, for fair play. The stage of 1860 was cramped and cabined and confined. Protection was killing and smothering the stage. I fought for free trade,

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for the observant study of the foreign actor and for every phase of art! In 1890 I found myself a veteran and with my old sword still in my hand. But the cause was different. Then and now I find myself fighting on the defence and not on the attack. I was a dramatic Radical in 1860, I am a dramatic Unionist in 1893. I am fighting now to preserve the stage from the specious friends who are in reality its worst enemies. I am fighting still under the banner of human nature, but with the whole plan of the campaign reversed. It is briefly this: In 1860 the intellectual public cold-shouldered the stage because it was so brainless. In 1890 the self-respecting portion of the intellectual public began to suspect the stage because it was lending itself to the propagation of dangerous heresies and becoming a platform for the discussion of subjects that are generally in good society debated with closed doors. "The Stage for the People" has ever been my cry. The People were with me in 1860 when I protested against slovenliness, boorishness, unintellectuality and want of art. It has yet to be proved that the public are against me when I argue in favor of a theatre that shall be as pure and as blameless as are the average English homes that contribute the bulk of the playgoers to sustain the drama of to-day.

Let me try to explain the condition of the stage when as a mere boy I buckled my armor on to fight for a cause that had become part and parcel of my nature. The stage in 1860 was virtually without a leader. William Charles Macready had retired in 1851, nine years before, and was living moodily as a recluse, a solitary hermit at Cheltenham. Charles Kean had ended his brilliant campaign at the old Princess's Theatre, and William Shakespeare had no active defender worth the name in the land of his birth. They did more for him in America and Germany than they could do in England three and thirty years ago. Gustavus Vaughan Brooke, great actor as he was, but never born to be a leader of men, had met with his tragic, and, I may be permitted to say, heroic death. The campaign of Samuel Phelps at Sadler's Wells, one of the most noteworthy events of the century, was at an end. He had produced every play by Shakespeare with a minimum of exceptions, and the "grand old man" did not care to put himself in the forefront of the battle again. Charles Dillon, a fine actor in his way, but always his own worst

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enemy, had not the tact or skill to take the lead in a great revival. As I said before, the stage was without a leader. Henry Irving was hovering in the background with the mark of destiny on his young forehead, but the hour of Irving had not yet sounded in 1860. The stage was in the hands of fossils or adventurers, of tradesmen and traders. No one disputes the skill or artistic capacity of a Benjamin Webster or a Buckstone. But as managers they were very seldom in earnest. Art was not spelt with a big A in those days. They were the leaders, but they did not think very much of their mission. They played into the hands of the promoted box-keepers and the plethoric acting managers who fingered the till and helped to degrade the stage as much as it well could be degraded in the eyes of the public.

Helpless and impotent as these men were they hoped to drift on with the feeble aid of the cry of protection which, had it not been stopped, would have retarded the progress of the English stage by ten or twenty years. They hated the foreign actor as they hated poison. If a Wallack or an Edwin Booth came over to London they howled against him, flinging into his face the silly charge that he was "taking the bread out of the mouth of the English actor." If Rachel came from France, or Devrient from Germany, he was allowed to play in a corner of the Royal Palace at St. James's or not at all. A French company from the *Théâtre Historique* was hooted from the boards of Drury Lane. Webster, who ought to have known better, and who literally lived on French plays, with a crowd of ignorant and impecunious satellites at his heels, started the ridiculous cry of "the English stage for the English." Little did these selfish men know or dream what free trade was destined to do for the English stage. Little did these snarling dogs in the manger imagine that the day would come when the English people, free from the tyranny of protection, would cry aloud and shout for Jefferson, and Booth, and Owens, and McCullough, and Florence, and Thorne, and Ada Rehan from America; for Bernhardt, and Lafont, and Desclée, and Delaunay, and Lafontaine from France; for Salvini, and Ristori, and Rossi from Italy; for Barnay from Germany; for Modjeska from Poland; in fact, for the dramatic stars in the world's heaven of heavens. The death knell of protection was rung when Charles Fechter played Hamlet in English, and when Stella Colas played Juliet also in English—both at the old Prin-

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cess's Theatre. This paved the way for Lafont and Fargueil, and for the glorious time when the whole troupe of the *Comédie Francaise* was first seen in London in 1870, ten years after the first revolution began.

Our first champion of the natural school was Charles Fechter, the best romantic actor I have ever seen. For him we fought tooth and nail against the mouthers and ranters and bow-wow gentlemen of the old school who had all the faults of Macready without any of his virtues. There never was such a set of strutting and mouthing "out-termagasting" termagants as caught up Macready's mantle and groaned themselves into notoriety. Charles Fechter came as a revelation. His Ruy Blas was the very finest romantic performance I have ever seen on any stage. And we, who were the enthusiasts of 1860 and thereabouts, preferred the Hamlet and Iago of Fechter because we preferred the broken English of the Frenchman to the bastard English of the so-called Shakesperian actors of those days. With Fechter we certainly got in the thin edge of the wedge. Charles Dickens and his many literary friends were with us. Old stagers as they were they did not disdain the natural school; indeed, it was Charles Dickens who first prophesied that Henry Irving would do great things when he first saw him play a melodramatic villain.

But the revolution of 1860 was necessary on other grounds. It was not only that the general acting was so contemptibly bad, but that the mounting of plays was so execrable in every detail. Stage archæology suddenly died with the Princess's revivals of Charles Kean, for Chatterton's idea of Shakesperian production at Drury Lane did not commend itself to students or scholars. It was W. S. Gilbert, the now celebrated lyrist and dramatist, who, in the columns of a comic periodical called *Fun*, ridiculed the props and supers of sensational melodrama as "Adelphi guests." "Charles, his friend" was a ridiculous spectacle in those days. The actors who represented gentlemen in society were rigged up out of the pawn shop and the theatrical rag-bag provided the dresses for the ladies.

How some of the enthusiasts of the present generation would have roared had they seen how Webster and Buckstone dressed a modern comedy in those days! On we fought sword in hand, for the battle was not nearly won. But with each rising dawn came

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hope. We lived and rejoiced to see the start of the naturalistic and orderly school under the Bancrofts at the little old Prince of Wales's Theatre, in the Tottenham Court Road. It is the fashion—the stupid and ignorant fashion—nowadays to cry down Robertson and all his works. People turn up their eyes and wonder how any sane being could be influenced by the teacup-and-saucer school. Presumably because teacups and saucers were clean and homely, Robertson played on the heart's strings. He understood human nature. In what theatre or country to-day are *Caste*, or *Ours*, or *School* acted that they do not touch our better nature? They may be simple, but they are never strained. But then some of us prefer the daffodil to what Browning calls the "gaudy melon flower." These plays are witty—they are never rude. They come from a clear mind and a pure heart. We do not rise from these plays suffocated, but satisfied. There is no nasty taste in the mouth after a course of Robertson. The age has advanced since then. I do not say that Robertson or his works would be very highly eulogized if they came before us for the first time in this curious age that regards sentiment as a crime and human sympathy a sin. But I maintain and I know that Robertson's plays came at the exact time when they were wanted and that the acting of those plays started the natural acting of which we are so proud to-day, and gradually led to that general improvement in English acting which is acknowledged by every country in the world except France, the one country in the world which has retrograded in acting as much as England and America have conspicuously advanced.

The intellectual dramatic citadel was well won when Henry Irving was able to plant his flag on the topmost tower of the Lyceum. It had been a hard and desperate fight, but we were at last able to lay down our arms. The opportunity was always there. But here at last was the man. What he has done for the English stage no one knows better than the man who has studied the English stage. No country in the world has more generously applauded the artistic endeavor of Henry Irving than the great, liberal and generous country of America. The stagecraft of Irving has been to America a wonder and a surprise. Even those who disputed his artistic method acknowledged his heroic artistic endeavor. But we were not content to leave well alone on the English stage, not even when our foremost actor and the artist's devoted friend had

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given us *Becket*, which, to my mind, in literary excellence, in artistic design and histrionic ability, is one of the noblest stage achievements in the last half century. The audience that could study Lord Tennyson's *Becket*, and, unmoved, watch Henry Irving in what I call the ante-martyrdom scene, does not deserve a good play or soul-acting for its reward. This is the sublime elevation of the actor's art. With such acting as this the inner life of a man, his purer being, and his better self are lifted up. The grossness of his nature is purged. Steeped in Scripture as we are, we see how a good man can die for a holy cause. The true martyr spirit is instinctively spread, and the artistic atmosphere is sweeter for it. We arise from the theatre as chastened as when we have strayed into some old cathedral and heard the solemn organ played in the fading evening light. The awful, the mysterious, and the intangible are nearer to us than they have ever been before. I repeat, we arise from that play of *Becket* proud for the sake of our fellow-creatures that such plays can be presented to us and such acting seen, and the next morning we take up the paper and read, forsooth, that one of the foremost dramatic critics of our time, a representative of the new, morbid, pessimistic and unhealthy school, has taken the trouble to write a letter advocating suicide! and using the old schoolboy, childish argument, that as we were not consulted when we were brought into this world we should be fools to consult any one about going out of it. And yet, presumably, this "*advocatus diaboli*" has a mother, or a wife, or some friend or companion who would lament his self-inflicted, cowardly death.

Yes, it is the pessimistic craze, the fury of irreverence, the morbid love of disease in mind and nature, the arrogant determination to call a spade a spade at every turn and under any circumstances, that brings us to the dramatic revolution of these last three curious and eventful years. The fight has begun and we are in the thick of it. As in 1860 I fought that the stage might be recovered for the people, so do I fight now that the stage may be retained for the people. Our opponents started with Ibsen and the public voice sent Ibsen back about his business. But the trail of the Ibsen serpent has been left on the stage, and our cleverest and most literary dramatist, Arthur Wing Pinero, has been ensnared into the pessimistic net. It may be a freak, an eccentricity, an example of wilfulness, but certainly *The Second*

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Mrs. Tanqueray is not only the boldest, but one of the most objectionable plays I have ever seen on the English stage during an experience of thirty-three years. It is quite possible that Mr. Pinero may not be beyond reason and argument. He has tried every school of dramatic thought with more or less success. He has imitated Dickens, Thackeray, Robertson and Hardy on the English stage. He has succeeded as a humorist and as a sentimentalist. He has ranged from *Sweet Lavender* to *Dandy Dick*. In the *Profligate* he was as unnaturally moral as the woman's-rights heroine, Evadne, in the *Heavenly Twins*. His *Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a woman more outrageously revolting than all the heroines of Ibsen put together. But though the play may be merely a clever dramatic exercise, a bold and reckless attempt to become for the nonce more Ibsenitish than Ibsen, does Mr. Pinero in his serious moments think that *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a work that helps and encourages the English stage and contributes to the general amusement of the people?

For over thirty years we have been combating the narrow, bigoted and puritanical opposition to the stage. We have shown that the theatre is not the godless institution that it is represented to be. We have proved that the general doctrine of the stage is as upright and pure as the average doctrine of the church pulpit. The more the clergy have fought against the stage, the more we have pleaded for it as inculcating the noblest and purest lessons and setting the noblest of examples. And so it has been up to the hour of the Dramatic Revolution of 1890, when unfortunately it was held that every subject capable of discussion by men and women together, or men and women apart, ought to be discussed in public on the English stage. Here we join issue with our friends, the "new critics", who advocate suicide and glorify the dramatization of the Contagious-Diseases acts. I say that in the course of thirty years we on our side have broken down the Puritanic spirit that preached against the stage as the opening to the pit of hell, and the players excommunicated, vile and unfit for christian burial. Ours has been the doctrine of the "Little Church Around the Corner." I say that for thirty years we have kept the stage in such a condition that no man—if he were not a Puritan—would prevent wife or daughters from entering the theatre door. I say that the rule I have followed for my own sure guidance has been invariably this, that every-

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thing may be discussed in public on the stage that is discussed at every liberal dinner table in refined and polite society. Society has certain rules and the stage cannot do better than follow those rules. But I absolutely deny that the subject of Ibsen's *Ghosts* could ever be discussed at any dinner table or in any mixed society in the civilized world, unless indeed we are so advanced that we discuss hereditary disease with our soup and over an entree enlist the conversation of a pretty woman as to the ravages of contagion derived from sensuality and the sins of the fathers inherited by the children. Nor do I think that society as I see it is as yet so advanced—or degraded—as to debate about *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and her illicit amours and the various men for whom she has "kept house" in any society where good taste, to say nothing else, is respected.

They ask me why I am such a violent opponent of this particular play. They demand why, when I came home and found it a great success, I could not leave it alone and hold my tongue? in fact, what business was it of mine to raise any discussion whatever? I can only answer that I fought as a volunteer in the revolution of 1860, and am prepared to fight as a veteran in the revolution started in 1890 and growing to a climax in 1893. And I will tell you why I fight against the plays whose heroines are monsters and whose atmosphere is Mephitic. I fight against them because I love the plays of humanity and I detest the plays that are in essence irreligious and irreverent. The drama of recent times may occasionally have been too goody-goody, but grave is the responsibility of the dramatist who by the power of his art makes evil good on the stage. We don't always want to make it all right in the end. We don't want *ad infinitum* to pat virtue on the back and to execrate vice. But on the other hand it is to my mind no less than a crime to preach from the stage the ridicule of virtue and the splendid courage of suicide. I am no Puritan, I trust, no bigot, I hope; but though I have protested against the Puritan and bigot, and Philistine and Pharisee, for their uncharitable dealings with the stage all my life long, still were Puritan or bigot to stand up and preach against the danger and the disgust that are the outcome of the study of the new drama I for one could not answer one word. I could not say him nay. When it is proved to me that the public voice indorses the new drama then

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I shall lay down my arms and quit the field, knowing I have done what I can for the art I have loved since childhood. But the public voice has not spoken, and I do not believe ever will speak in favor of plays that discuss indecent topics and whitewash immoral connections. The hero of *Ghosts* with his interviews with the maid servant and the heroine of *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* with her brutally cynical confessions will never be popular with the English people at large. Such plays as these may tickle the jaded dramatic appetite, but they will not last in esteem or in literature.

In all my experience I have never known a play of true humanity fail with the people. The only two plays with a hideous and indefensible moral that have ever succeeded in my time are *The New Magdalen* of Wilkie Collins and *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* of Arthur Pinero. And as you will see anon in America the better it is acted the more hideous it becomes. Whilst by its supreme cleverness this new class of dramatic literature attracts the intellectual few it will assuredly empty the theatre of those who still go clothed or wear the rags of reverence, religion and self-respect!

CLEMENT SCOTT.

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LATEST ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

IT IS refreshing to think that if an Englishman writes for the American public on matters of international politics he is not read with any sentiment except that of a generous neutrality. America is too large, physically and morally, to cherish the petty jealousies and suspicions that torture countries less favorably placed. For instance, it was most comical to hear comments which were made in the French press some little time ago on an innocent article contributed by an English writer to a review published at Leipzig for Germans, and written in German. The English author, without a thought of writing anything displeasing to the most sensitive "susceptibilities," alluded to the vast emigration taking place annually from Germany. He pointed out that, although the German immigrants become, in any State to which they may direct their steps, a most valuable source of national strength to their adopted country, Germany derived no benefit from this out-wandering of her people, unless it were in the prevention of disturbance at home from too great crowding. The German leaves his home, and quite as often as not he leaves it for good,—for good to himself in that he betters his condition, and possibly for good to his fatherland in that if he stayed at home and could not get a good living he might become a bad citizen. He goes and he becomes a good citizen of another country. If he goes to the United States he is specially exempted by treaty from any liability to military service at home, should he desire to return to pay a visit to his German kinsfolk. The treaty that secures him this privilege is a point in the consideration of a matter to which I wish to refer in another moment. It is a treaty which greatly encourages Germans to emigrate to America, and it gives encouragement which the German Govern-

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ment has steadfastly refused to extend to Canada, or any other government either in South or North America. Well, it was pointed out in the article to which I refer that this state of things was a curious one, for Germany sending out annually so much good manhood could not make the exodus tell in her own favor as a power. All the men who leave her become the strength of alien states. She cannot call upon these citizens who leave her for any contribution to her home strength, for it is optional with them whether they return or not. It was suggested further that the countries Germany has lately taken over apparently for purposes of colonization—New Guinea, East Africa and such like—lie too much in the tropics to be of use as a home for a German population. They are too hot, and will never attract any one unless they tempted Germans, as Java tempts Dutchmen, to stay awhile in the land to make money and then return home. It was pointed out that in the case of such countries as the Argentine Republic and the temperate lands in South America, these objections on the score of climate do not exist, and that it might be possible to direct some of the superabundant stream of German emigration to these regions, so that gradually Germany might possess some power and influence in them, working for good in making some of the finest regions on the earth's surface do justice to themselves under a just government.

It would be imagined that any sane person would welcome such a possibility, but no, anything that would do good to Germany must, in the eyes of her rival for European greatness, be construed as an affront to France. It matters not that the conditions of the two countries, Germany and France, are wholly different. There is no superabundance of population in France; on the contrary each census shows the numbers to be almost at a standstill. The Teuton, on the other hand, increases fast in numbers, and this increase must have an outlet. When the United States is full enough this redundancy in Europe must be relieved by an outpouring to other territories. Is France always to consider the formation of colonies by powers who have these arrows in their quiver an injury to herself because her family is not so numerous? If she take such a line the woes she is laying up for herself in the future are manifold. Her own inabilities cannot give the time for the march of others. Nor need she fear to take a generous part, and to rejoice that offshoots of other nations will

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spring up in other lands beyond the seas. Should any European power take measures to direct her emigrants to healthy regions, such a power would benefit herself, and the countries to which such an influx of good citizens might come could do France no harm, but good, in giving her new markets for her trade.

This argument would certainly not have made Americans angry. They would, perhaps, have said that it was a pretty wild idea, and that they themselves as the chief power in the New World would need to have a say in such a matter, but no one writing on the subject and evidently desirous of benefiting half-breed little defaulting states and the honest Teuton out-wanderer would have been held up to scorn as a hater of the American government and people. But this was what the excitable French newspaper writers said as regards any good will manifested to any German! The author of any proposition to do Germany good must be the mortal enemy of France! It is really most sad to see such spiteful childishness shown by grown people. Such feminine and, at the same time, ferocious fear can only be exhibited when the position of a people is weak. France is too great and too noble a country to allow her writers to pose her as a feverish lunatic, restrained only by a strait waistcoat of temporary helplessness. She is strong enough to learn the lesson of self-respect and national dignity, which is not learned by flying at the throat of all who are friendly to other powers as well as to herself.

To Americans this febrile condition is fortunately unknown. Except with a few they can look on calmly at the progress of other nations, believing the United States is too strong to be harmed, and knowing further that no one desires to harm it. The eagle's flight cannot be quickened or hindered by what King David called the "beasts of the people" on the earth below. She has her own empire, which they cannot touch, and indeed much of their contention may fall out greatly to her advantage. So it is with discussions on matters which do not now concern America, but which may interest her later on in the world's history. If the somewhat visionary speculations result in practical good, she may indeed become one of the factors of their success in aiding them for her own benefit. It is doubtful if she can forever be as free from all connections with the troubles of other people as she is at present. The eagle's flight cannot continue without a rest, and whenever she touches earth and condescends

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to feed there, she must see that her food is not poisoned. Can she not do so by having some slight understanding with meaner mortals?

The natural tendency of identical language and laws is to draw people possessing them towards each other, because they can understand each other's feelings better than can foreigners. Is it not possible that the ideas vaguely adumbrated under the name of "Imperial Federation" may only be a development of the American idea as shown in the United States Constitution? If not alike, the ideas are certainly not antagonistic. The general conception is that just as Great Britain made the old colonies hostile to her by insisting on exactions, so through other causes, operating none the less surely, will England again see great colonies like those of Australia, the Cape, and Canada, slip away from her and become new nations, finally waging war against her. Should not some arrangement be made to interest them more vitally in the general concerns of the family of nations to which they have hitherto belonged. Both Australia and Canada have more people within their borders than the United States had at the time of their war of independence. The idea then is to retard or extinguish this tendency to separation by arrangements for mutual good. Is this action such as to harm the United States? On the contrary, it will probably be made to favor them. It does not by any means follow that Australia or the Cape or Canada, sundered from the merely nominal imperial tie they now have, to keep, or cast away as they choose, would be more friendly to the Washington Government, than as constituent parts of a confederation of English-speaking lands, such as is contemplated by the imperial federationists. On the contrary, sundered English countries, each fighting for its own hand, would be as suspicious, jealous, irritable and combative as the French now are; as morbidly liable to see insult where there is none, as little filled with that repose which is the sign of true strength, and as ready to join alliances with foreigners to put down or check the growth and actions of America or any other English-speaking people not in strict alliance with them. Any bond among states governed on English law would be a bond acting in favor of friendship and alliance with the United States. The want of such a bond and the gradual dismemberment of the group of nations, called rather euphemistically "British," would

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tend to give the United States rivals, rather than allies. Is the United States indifferent to this?

We may see some reasons why they had best not be indifferent, and why they had best welcome an English-speaking confederation, for that is what "Imperial Federation" would come to. Names are nothing, for they are only the passing nicknames given by other boys who happen to be in the same class at the moment, and are not abiding baptismal descriptions. We may, then, rather think of the talked-of federation as the "English" federation than as the "Imperial." The use of the word "imperial" had a good deal to do with the taxing of the Boston tea, and it is probably too expensive an ornament to be always worn in everyday life. If properly managed, such an alliance might be made a very potent league of peace, and America has shown of late by the votes to increase her fleet, that she knows that there are considerations which may make it desirable for her to have allies, and where would she find a better alliance than among her own kith and kin?

The so-called "movement" in favor of a federation alliance is very young. Very young, also, are most of the utterances that point at any special proposal. But the idea has a blood pumper that may in time send vital energy through veins which are hardly developed. There is heart in the "movement." The voices that urge quicker action, for fear that the limbs may mortify and drop off if not rapidly supplied with blood, are chiefly voices that speak from London. London is certainly a big heart, but a heart of very variable action. Very variable have been the words of the quickeners of the "movement." One of them who, some years ago, came back from America full of theories fed by a free-trade heart, declared at that time that the Western "Granges" would sweep the Eastern State Protectionists quickly to perdition. His judgment was wrong, even if his heart was in the right place. Another gentleman with an "imperial" sweep of the hand wants to command the attendance of all the representatives of all the colonies at Westminster. Westminster may understand the proposal, but Montreal, Sydney, Melbourne and Cape Town don't. Another, who has been impressed by Mr. McKinley, wishes to McKinleyize all the world which now sees the Union Jack flying. In short, the idea is so large that men are apt to become "excessive" over it. Another gentleman

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some time ago gave his countrymen the wise advice "go slow." This they have done for the last few years, not because of set policy, but because so many leaders say "We must go one way," only to be answered by others as wise who say "We must go the other." Of course the best plan is to await events, and for each state of the group of mother and children to supply the needs of the others as occasion may serve. The chief helper in the cause has been Mr. McKinley, but we do not know how long that happy irritant may be "to the fore." Meantime a good deal has been quietly done. A conference held in London at the incitation of the government of Lord Salisbury gave opportunity to leading men in the colonies to say what they wanted and what they did not want, and the interstate strengthening of armaments for mutual defence dates from that time, for up to that period each country had gone its own way under a half-and-half understanding with departmental chiefs in the mother land. The withdrawal of regular troops from the larger colonies has certainly induced these to augment and improve the quantity and quality of their home forces, so that in the event of trouble the imperial and home army and navy may join with effect. The main difficulty is the old one, namely, how to have representation and taxation joined. Armaments involve expense, and of the necessity of expense the colony insists on judging, and is apt to believe the mother country's warnings an old woman's fears. None of these new nations have been purged by war of their cocksureness and of the pleasant conceit that they are invulnerable because they have never been wounded. I speak only, of course, of the last forty or fifty years. The Cape wars with blacks and Boers cannot be counted as having wrung any withers.

It is obvious, then, that any heavy increase in war power can only be arranged by conference. The first conference has been successful in this regard, and it will probably be followed by others. But there is no use in speaking of long forward steps to Americans or English until some necessity arises to make it patent to the people that they must devise some novelty. We all hate novelty, unless it comes in the form of a new dance, romance or theological dispute. We have walked on our feet too long to admire the novelty of being told suddenly we must take to standing on our head. Change is disagreeable unless it be in the shape of new dishes at dinner. We don't want a change

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that may deprive us of dinner, or even much alter its hour. It is this innate English conservatism which has made America and Britain wait to take "occasion by the hand" when she came, but we do not like to lead out occasion to make her dance a solo. And as with matters of land and sea defence, so it is also with fiscal matters. Each geographical group must go its own way until it sees it is its interest to make conjoint plans. Geography determines political economy more than do the text books of the philosophers, who take no account of the wilfulness of human caprice. The people make fiscal tariffs to benefit powerful sections of population for a time. The philosophers say they are all wrong and their children will find it out. The people reply that their children will shape their laws in their own time. And no doubt those children will have other philosophers to tell them they are wrong should they pursue a policy of their own, though it may be the reverse of that condemned by the philosophers of our day.

The idea of a Federal union between what are practically independent communities, separated from each other by wide oceans, is a new thing. Similar conditions have never prevailed in the history of the world. Never has a mother country produced so marvellous an array of colonies, chiefly consisting of people of her own blood, wholly adopting her own laws and rejoicing in her tongue, while at the same time insisting on a totally separate political frame for the picture which they delight to paint as English. The notion that they can be united for certain common purposes is natural. America need certainly not look with prejudiced eye on such a project. Such work for the world's good may on the contrary have her sympathy. Is there not more sympathy with American aspirations among Australians and English than there is among Italians, French or Russians? There is no doubt that there is. Trade and language go much together. Would it not be for the United States' advantage that it should have the sympathy of a sound, strong English federation in any dispute with the outside foreigners? Self-contained as the United States is, and quite able to adjust any little trouble within its borders, it is quite conceivable that the friendship of its own kin beyond sea may be worth more to it in time than the indifference with which its national life is usually regarded by the average careless foreigner.

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A league of kindred states that would make maritime war difficult, nay almost impossible, might have an understanding with the United States, while America kept outside any engagement, and might thus insure the very neutrality which the United States would desire to keep and which might otherwise be endangered. As their own foreign element, Italian, or German, or French Canadian gets stronger and more segregated in special spots in the Union it is quite conceivable that race or national questions under some specious name may trouble them, and that the "national" population may love to hoist a tricolor or some foreign flag in preference to the Stars and Stripes. The French in the northeast corner might well form such a "national" cave of Adullam. Then how about the foreign elements in the South, half Congo and half Creole? Yes, these things may be out of sight for the present, but the present becomes the distant past very soon in politics, and an English "Bund" is not a bad antidote to certain schemes and dreams which are very un-English, using that adjective in its best sense—the sense in which we each and all of us desire to keep "our noble England whole," if that England is to mean the power to spread abroad the principles of ordered freedom as exhibited in the laws and in the language of those who trained themselves into self-government and whose patriotism is not the unbridled reign of selfish passion, but the outcome of the experience of those who are not young in the knowledge of what is license and what is liberty.

LORNE.

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THE COMING TARIFF LEGISLATION.

BY REPRESENTATIVE BENTON M'MILLIN, OF TENNESSEE, REPRESENTATIVE JOHN DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM J. BRYAN, OF NEBRASKA; ALL OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

THE HON. BENTON M'MILLIN:

WE HAVE now tried the tariff law of 1890 for three years. During that period the country has been under the highest rate of duty ever imposed here. Its authors boldly announced that it was not framed for revenue, but for protection. It was put into operation when the country was in a prosperous condition. To see what should be done in revising it, let us examine the nature of the measure, and the result of its operation.

It is the accumulation of many years of increase in tariff rates. When we started on the up grade of protection in 1861 we were told it was only temporary, to meet the expenses of a costly war, and when that war was over we should have a reduction. The war closed, but no relief came except to the manufacturers. The internal tax imposed on them when the import duties were increased was repealed. There was, it is true, a horizontal cut made of ten per cent. in the tariff rates in 1872, but only a few months elapsed before it was restored without adequate excuse. After many efforts by the Democracy to revise the tariff without success, the question was intensified by President Cleveland's famous message of 1887 to Congress urging tariff reform. The Mills Bill was framed and put through the House only to fail in the Republican Senate. When the Republicans came into full power under President Harrison they set about making a new tariff which outstripped all other protection measures, which should give capital

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remunerative dividends, labor constant and better-paying employment, and prosperity to the entire country. According to its advocates and framers an industrial millennium was to dawn upon the entire country. The rates upon every schedule except one or two were greatly increased, while the taxes on many luxuries were permitted to stand where they were or were lowered; those on the necessaries of life were made higher.

The manufacturers were called in and allowed to frame the schedules in which they were interested, and raised the duties to suit themselves. Whole sections of the bill were thus framed, and inserted bodily as they were made by interested parties; and are now a part of the law of the land. This is notably true of sections increasing the duty on women's dress goods, which was prepared by one of the greatest manufacturers of those goods. It was true of others. Does anyone deny this? The members of the Ways and Means Committee who "edited" the bill will not deny it. Sixty-five million people groan to-day under exactions prepared by interested makers of the articles taxed, and placed in the bill by their dictation. Is it strange that the burdens were made too grievous to be borne? Is it surprising that they made rates such that none but themselves could flourish. The framers of that bill found the average rate of duty a little more than 40 per cent., they left but little (if any) less then 60 per cent. They knew the farmer would complain about having the price of his clothing, his household and kitchen furniture, and his implements of industry thus increased by excessive taxes intended to enhance prices, while the price of the produce of his farm was fixed in the free-trade markets of the world in competition with the most poorly paid labor. They went through the farce of increasing largely the duty on corn, wheat, rye, and barley. They evidently thought the people very gullible. They put additional taxes upon raw materials, and still further weighted the industries of the country and oppressed the people using the goods. They repealed the sugar tax because nine-tenths of it went into the Treasury; and gave a bounty on sugar which was raised by a tax on other articles of necessity where three-fourths of the cost of taxation went to the manufacturers. Other bounties were provided—notably a bounty on silk.

Under pretext of bringing about reciprocity with other nations—which in this case was free trade on a small scale and to a

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favored few—they surrendered to the President the right to impose and remit taxes without calling on Congress or consulting the people.

Under this tariff gigantic trusts have been formed to restrict productions and put up prices. Whilst it is not contended that the formation of a trust is never seen or is impossible except under the influence of tariff laws, it is certainly true that their organization has been and is greatly facilitated by tariff laws which destroy or limit competition in production.

Such are some of the provisions of the law of 1890 which the Democratic party is called upon to revise. I defy anyone to show one laborer whose wages it has increased in the three years it has existed. A period of greater financial depression was never known in our history. Under it unemployed labor ready to work has begged bread in the streets and almost starved at home. Under it furnaces have been banked, factories have been shut down and foundries have ceased to glow. Under it there have been innumerable lockouts and reductions of wages. Under it the great increase of tariff rates has been accompanied by no corresponding increase in the wages of labor. Under it the rich farm lands of the country have continued to fall in price. To show that I do not overdraw the picture I quote from an article contributed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie to the September number of this REVIEW. After lauding the prosperity prior to 1890, he gives this gloomy but true account of years since that date :

"What a contrast to this picture the position of our country presents to-day. It is doubtful if a more disastrous financial cyclone ever blasted a country to such an extent in so short a time. . . . We see the woollen and cotton mills stop in New England, the blast furnaces closed throughout the South, banks and business firms failing to an extent before unknown, and hundreds of thousands of workmen idle, when before every one was employed. And while a few thousands engaged in business suffer, the sufferers among the wage-earning classes are already numbered by hundreds of thousands. The country has fallen from the apex of prosperity to the depths of industrial depression. Adversity has taken the place of prosperity, stagnation in business has succeeded activity, confidence has given place to distrust, and, as is always the case when business is disturbed, the chief part of the loss and suffering is falling, and must fall, upon the workingmen—upon the poor millions and not upon the rich few."

It is true the great manufacturer, whose own works unfortunately have confirmed the truth of his gloomy description, attributes the ills to other causes. Still the unprejudiced must

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admit that very much has come from a system of unequal taxation, and all will admit the high taxes imposed have not been a remedy for any ill that afflicted the land.

And now the grave responsibility of revising and reducing this system of oppressive tariff devolves upon the Democratic party by reason of the great victory of 1892. For a quarter of a century that party has exhorted the people to return to the Democratic idea of reduced duties. By an unprecedented victory this party again comes into full power, and cannot and will not surrender the cause of tariff reform either by non-action or inadequate action. To do so would be to acknowledge themselves either insincere or incapable. It would betray the high trust reposed in them. The Democratic party does not seek to tear down or injure our industries. Under it they flourished in the past. Under it they will flourish in the future. It seeks rather to place them on a firmer and surer basis; to extend their markets; to give them cheap raw materials, and then require them in return to forego some of the exactions they have been making upon our people. The people of this country can make more than they can eat or wear, and must find a market for their surplus or be reduced to enforced idleness periodically. Protection in Germany and France is often cited to justify it here. Nothing is proven by the citation. The situation of our people is entirely different from that of those countries. There, from half a million to three-quarters of a million of men in the prime of life, at the period of their greatest earning power, are taken from industrial pursuits and placed in the army, where they cease to be producers. All the time they go on consuming. Here we have no great navy, and no vast standing army drawing the flower of our young men from the industries and placing them where they cease to create wealth. Hence we have more need for markets to take the products of their labor.

Hearings are now in progress before the Ways and Means Committee and the manufacturers are urging non-action. Certain prints that perennially champion their cause take up the refrain and clamor in unison against tariff revision; or as they sometimes put it alliteratively—against "tinkering with the tariff". This is no new sound. It has always been heard when reduction of duties was proposed, but never when an increase of rates was asked. They never complained at "tariff tinkering" when it was upwards, but abhor it when it has a tendency downwards.

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When the country is prosperous they claim it will destroy prosperity to decrease the rates. When it is in panic they say it will retard prosperity to reduce them. Therefore, if we follow them we could never reduce taxes. There should be a general revision of the tariff and reduction of duties to a revenue basis. The reduction should be greatest in the necessaries of life, and less on luxuries. So far as may be, raw materials should be made free, that manufactories may be unhampered in the competition of the world, and goods be supplied at a cheaper cost to our people. The right of the President to impose and remit taxes should be taken away as undemocratic and unAmerican. Taxes should be substituted for bounties, it being the object of government to impose taxes "for revenue" to carry on government; and not to raise money from one citizen to be paid over to another to increase his profits. Make the tariff what it should be. When this is done, we can regulate our revenues, as we do now, by our internal revenue taxes.

If more money is needed it can be obtained by an increase of the tax on spirits and by such other internal taxes as the Congress may in its discretion impose. Among other feasible means is a legacy tax which never makes its exactions till the party who worked for the money no longer needs it; till one is to get it who never earned it. There is no point where Government can with more propriety make a reasonable exaction for that protection through which alone it could have been accumulated than on large legacies and inheritances.

BENTON M'MILLIN.

THE HON. JOHN DALZELL:

THE interest generally attaching to the tariff question at this time has little relation to the correctness or incorrectness of any theory. Throughout the country, free-trader, protectionist, and the tariff reformer—who denies that he is either—alike compulsorily stand paralyzed in the presence of uncertainty. All men know that Congress is to revise the tariff; it is doubtful whether anyone knows how it is to be revised. Accurate foreknowledge now of coming legislation would mean fortune to its possessor. Doubt and distrust rule the hour. And not without good reason; the elements of uncertainty are many.

The party that for thirty years, with marvellous success,

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guided the destinies of the nation, has been expelled from power, and responsibility rests upon a party trained not to up-building but to down-pulling, not to construction but to opposition. Conceding to it the fullest measure of patriotic purpose, the fact remains that in this generation it has not had a chance to put into practice the art of governing. Nor does it appeal by its history to the confidence of the American people. While it brings to its responsible task a recent record of inexperience it brings also an earlier record full of disaster.

One of the characteristic features of Republican rule is the system of protection. By its means home industries have been developed to a variety, importance and wealth difficult of accurate measurement, and the field of remunerative labor enlarged to the wonderful material prosperity and moral and social advancement of the wage-earner. The assertion is incontrovertible that never in our history were the necessaries of life cheaper, or wages and the condition of labor on a higher plane, than when Mr. Harrison went out of office. Without claiming this condition of things to be due solely to the system of protection, it must be admitted that that system is entitled to a large, if not the largest, amount of credit therefor. But even if it be granted that the protective system had nothing to do with it, still it must be conceded that a large proportion of our people believe to the contrary; and a prevailing popular sentiment is potential in influencing social and enconomic conditions.

Suddenly, inexplicably, the people—as was their right—at the last Presidential election changed for a time the party of their choice, and placed the Democratic party in charge of all the departments of government. That party came into power upon a platform that would reverse the industrial policy of a third of a century.

A glance at the history of that platform's adoption will not be without profit. Had it been adopted as originally reported to the Convention it would have contained, with respect to the tariff, this declaration:

> "In making tariff reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved."

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This declaration the Convention deliberately refused to make, and in strong contrast with it thus announced the party creed:

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, etc., etc."

If we could accept a Democratic platform as meaning what it says there would not now be any uncertainty as to the future of our tariff policy. Assuming honesty in a Democratic convention in formulating the creed of the Democratic party, the horoscope of our tariff future is easy to be read.

Protective duties are to be abolished; they are unconstitutional, and a tariff whose sole purpose shall be revenue is to be enacted, that is to say a tariff so levied as to raise the greatest amount of revenue by the imposition of the least rate of duty. The legitimate subjects of such duty are the necessaries of life, tea, coffee, sugar and the like.

The result of such tariff is easy to predict. The mine, the mill, the furnace and the factory must cease to operate, or the owner thereof must put himself on the plane of his foreign business rival, and so in the last analysis the burden will fall on the wage-earner reduced to the level of his foreign competitor.

But how is it possible to believe that the platform of the party now in power necessarily indicates that party's intended policy?

In the remarkable debate recently concluded in the House of Representatives on the silver question nothing was made so conspicuous as the uncertainty attaching to the proper interpretation of the Democratic platform. The most familiar instance of each day's debate was the assertion by one Democrat that the money plank of that platform was a distinct pledge in favor of free and unlimited silver coinage, and the assertion by another Democrat that it was exactly the reverse. By Democratic construction the platform seems to have been intended for convenient service, equally well suited to Colorado and to New York and New England, a good enough lure alike for Wall Street and the prairie.

Furthermore, time and again in that same debate the announcement was made that party platforms mean nothing, and that the candidate is the exponent of party principles and policy. How much this means, a glance at the vote upon the bill repeal-

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ing the purchase clause of the Sherman Act and the attitude of prominent Democrats with respect thereto will make very apparent. Representatives in great numbers, and grave and reverend senators, heretofore the advocates, in speech, in the press and in magazine articles, of free and unlimited silver coinage, jostled each other in their mad haste to sustain the policy recommended by the President. Like Saul of Tarsus, they were suddenly converted by a great light. The light, we may allow, came from heaven, but by way of reflection from the White House.

With respect to tariff revision there is as much ground for uncertainty as to Democratic intentions as there was in connection with silver legislation. It is true that the Chicago Convention refused to embody in its declaration of principles a denial of any intention to injure any domestic industry. It is equally true that, having deliberately rejected this proposition, it declared in terms that a tariff except for revenue was unconstitutional. But then, again, it is also true, that Mr. Cleveland has uniformly coupled with his declarations in favor of tariff revision a pledge against harmful interference with industrial interests and the wages of labor.

"In a readjustment," said he, "of our tariff, the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers." That he is not a believer in the doctrine of Calhoun and the Chicago platform that protection is unconstitutional is clear. He says "it may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships of our present tariff laws should be devised with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests."

Will the party in power embody in legislation the declaration of its platform and erase from the statute book protective duties as unconstitutional; or will it follow the voice of its leader and revise the tariff, "with especial precaution against imperilling the existence of our manufacturing interests"?

This is a question upon the answer to which tens of thousands of American men, women and children anxiously stand waiting in the hush of idleness. It ought not to remain unanswered long.

No forecast of the future of legislation can approach accuracy that ignores the dominant influence of local interests. Free trade

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is always a lovely thing in theory and on paper, and sometimes a good thing in practice; but the latter is the case only when it operates in some other person's congressional district. The average voter—and his member of Congress does not differ from him—may be very devoted to principle when making party platforms, but when laws are to be made it is interest rather than principle that he wants considered. Free raw material would, beyond doubt, be a prominent feature of any bill framed by a Democratic Congress if there was no raw material in any Democratic district; if, however, such material should exist in such district, it is safe to say that it would not be deprived of tariff protection—at least, by the vote of the congressman therefrom. It will be remembered that when the Mills Bill came from the Ways and Means Committee, in the Fiftieth Congress, it had a conformity to theory which it sadly lacked when passed upon by the House. One by one articles produced in Democratic districts were transferred from the free to the dutiable list, and, in some cases, duties were advanced, as the price of Democratic votes.

Aside from this influence proceeding from particular districts, it must be borne in mind that there is a dominant force in the prevailing popular opinion which always influences legislation. And, whatever claims may be made from a partisan standpoint as to the real meaning of the political revolution of the last election, it would seem impossible of belief that the American people really intend to abandon the policy of protection. Any party undertaking to legislate upon that assumption must anticipate speedy rebuke and defeat.

It is to be remembered that the National Treasury is now in a depleted condition, and that its main source of replenishment must be customs duties. To accurately foretell the effect upon the revenue of a change in duties is an utter impossibility, and there probably never was a time in our history when there was more danger to be apprehended from tariff revision than now. This fact is, of course, appreciated by those in control of legislation and must largely influence their judgment against any radical experimental measures.

The elements that produce uncertainty in the present situation are the newness of the Democratic party to power, the meaninglessness of Democratic platforms as outlining party legislation, and the existence of a divided sentiment amongst Democrats upon

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the question of protection ; while some elements to be considered on the other hand are the effect on legislation of local interests, the influence of general popular opinion, the necessity for revenue, and the existing conditions which render radical or experimental legislation dangerous.

It being generally accepted as inevitable that the tariff is to be revised, it seems to be of the utmost importance that it be done speedily. Capital and labor alike, to a large extent, stand idle awaiting the result, desirous of adapting themselves to new conditions. And if there are to be new conditions, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to give some time to capital and labor to prepare to meet them. No tariff law ought to be enacted to go into immediate effect ; its operation should be postponed a reasonable time so as to interfere as little as possible with the prosecution of the business of the country.

JOHN DALZELL.

THE HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN :

IN so far as elections can determine a political principle the elections of 1890 and 1892 have committed this country to a tariff for revenue only. The immediate cause of this emphatic expression of public sentiment was due to the attempt on the part of the protected interests to push their battle line a little further forward, notwithstanding a popular demand for tariff reduction. This last move, on the part of those who, grown rich at public expense, added arrogance to their wealth, focussed public attention upon the issue and in the succeeding conflict all arguments in favor of the protective principle were met and answered.

In the earlier days of the Republic the main argument made in favor of a protective tariff was that it would encourage the establishment of new industries and guard them from competition with older foreign rivals until they became firmly rooted. Such a tariff was intended to be temporary only. Mr. Hamilton said in his report on manufactures in 1791 :

"The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established must always be of questionable policy, because a presumption would arise in every such case that there were natural and inherent impediments to success."

Mr. Clay said in 1833 :

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"The theory of protection supposes, too, that after a certain time the protected arts will have acquired such strength and perfection as will enable them subsequently, unaided, to stand against foreign competition."

And again in 1840:

"No one, Mr. President, in the commencement of the protective policy, ever supposed that it was to be perpetual."

Time, however, exhausted that argument. The child becomes ashamed to nurse as it grows older, but the industrial infant is not separated from the breast by any such sentimental reason. It is as scantily endowed with modesty as it is plentifully supplied with appetite, but, as the industry could no longer conceal its corpulent body and its extending limbs in childhood's attire, it sought some new excuse for continued public support, while it changed its attitude from that of a temporary ward of the nation to that of a permanent charge upon all profitable industries. The contention now is that we are not able to compete upon even terms with industries in foreign lands and that the government must make good the difference either directly by a bounty, as in the case of sugar production, or indirectly by a protective tariff, as in the case of wool.

Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio, in addressing the wool growers in a speech made about two years ago, said:

"And these are the existing conditions. In Australia merino wool can be and is produced at a less cost that it can be in the United States, because (1) pasturage can be had there for a few cents an acre, and (2) the climate there is such that substantially no winter feeding is required. The same is true of South America."

As protectionists do not claim that their system will reduce the price of pasturage or moderate the climate so as to make winter feeding unnecessary, they must defend the wool tariff as a perpetual tax. The same is true of other industries where the tariff is maintained for the ostensible purpose of paying higher wages than are paid abroad. As it is not contended that protection will finally reduce wages and thus enable us to reduce the tariff, protection in these cases must be justified as a permanent system by which the price of certain goods shall be increased by operation of law for the immediate benefit of those who produce the goods and for the pretended benefit ultimately of every one else. The operation of the tariff is simple. Under a 50 per cent. duty an article worth $1 is imported, the 50 per cent. duty added,

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and the consumer buys it for $1.50, plus expenses and profits. This tax is either paid by the foreigner who sells to us, or by the consumer in this country, who finally uses the article. If paid by the foreigner, then in the case above referred to the foreigner reduces his price from $1.50 to $1, so that when the duty is paid the price with the tariff will be the same that it would have been without the tariff. To show the absurdity of this position it is not necessary to inquire why the protectionist advocates such a variety of duties (why not treat all foreign nations alike and subject them to equal duties?), but it is sufficient to say that a tariff which is not paid by the consumer is of no benefit to the protected industry. If the producer of the protected article receives the same price for his goods with or without a tariff, what difference does it make to him whether the duty be high or low? If he cannot compete without the aid of a tariff, how can it help him except by enabling him to charge a higher price for his product? How can he charge a higher price unless he can compel the consumer to pay it? And how can he compel the consumer to pay it unless the tariff increases to the consumer the price of the competing article? The only reasonable or logical purpose of the tariff, therefore, is to compel the consumer to buy at home at a high price by preventing a purchase abroad at a lower price. It is here that the principle of protection violates the right of the individual, and its establishment disregards the spirit if not the letter of the constitution.

In what is known as the "Topeka, Kansas, Case" (20 *Wall*, 655), the decision of the Court contains these words:

> "To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative forms.
>
> "If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the innkeeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat-owner, are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town."

In other words, it means that the sheriff, representing the

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power of the law, shall not collect from the individual a sum to be given by the government as a bounty to a more favored individual. Will it be contended, then, that while this cannot be done directly by a tax or a bounty, that it is more lawful for the sheriff to hold one individual while the more favored individual collects the bounty from him himself through an increased price secured by a protective tariff ?

If it is difficult to defend the principle of transferring one man's money to another man's pocket by law, it is equally difficult to defend the policy of such a system. Whenever a legislative body announces that it has opened up business for that purpose, it is at once beseiged by those who seek to use the taxing power for private gain.

Assuming that no member can be bribed, either directly by cash in hand, or indirectly by the promise of contributions to campaign funds, or by pledges of the votes of employees, there is still great danger that the beneficiary will obtain an unfair advantage over the tax-payer, because the former is ever present and clamorous, while the latter silently bears the load because it is impossible for him to present any petition or protest other than that which he places in the ballot-box. He who defends protection must prove, first, that it is right in principle ; second, that it is wise ; third, that its application is necessary to the extent asked. It is safe to say that the advocates of the system do not attempt to establish these three necessary propositions. They presume that it is right, assume that it is wise, and take it for granted that it is necessary. In attempting to show that we must have a tariff duty in order to enable our industries to exist they content themselves with showing a difference in wages per day in favor of our employees, whereas the only test is the labor cost of the article produced. The pay per day is wholly immaterial. The labor cost is material. In most of our industries, while manufacturers pay higher wages per day they get more work for the same amount of money than foreign manufacturers. There are innumerable instances where our manufacturers compete in foreign markets without protection with the pauper labor of the world, and yet where they persistenly demand a tariff, in order to produce goods for sale in this country, where they have the advantage of transportation, even if they had no tariff.

In order to maintain a protective system the beneficiaries of

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the tariff have been compelled to stand together, and those who were demanding a tariff upon raw material could count on the assistance of those favoring a tariff on manufactured goods, although the tariff on the raw material was a burden to the manufacturer. So long as raw material is taxed our manufacturers are at a disadvantage when thrown into competition with those producing like goods in countries where no such tax is levied. To relieve our industries to some extent of this disadvantage the law has provided for a rebate to the exporting manufacturer nearly equal to the duty paid on the imported raw material. This provision, however, offers to the manufacturer an inducement to buy his raw material abroad rather than in this country, and in that way operates against the home producer of raw material, and it also enables the manufacturer to sell his product abroad cheaper than he can sell it at home. The fact that the manufacturer is thus encouraged to sell to the foreigner for less than to the man living by the side of the factory is one cause of the uprising against the system.

In the reform of the tariff which will soon be made the duty will in all probability be removed from a number of articles classed as raw material. Those who consume manufactured articles recognize that any tariff placed upon the material from which the goods are made must at last find its way to the consumer, and those who are anxious that our industries may be employed, not a portion, but all, of the year, recognize that the only way to secure this is to place manufacturers on even terms in respect to their material with foreign producers of like articles.

The reduction of the tariff instead of resulting in damage to this country and its industries will give employment to more people and will give to the consumers of protected articles an advantage by taking away from the manufacturer the right to impose not only unjust but unnecessary burdens upon the rest of the people.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A NEW SCIENCE AT THE FAIR.

ANTHROPOLOGY is a new science in America, although for thirty years it has attracted considerable attention in Europe. In order to show its development in the United States, Department "M" of the World's Columbian Exposition was established, and Prof. Frederick W. Putnam, Director of the Peabody Museum, one of the foremost anthropologists in the country, was appointed chief.

The Department recognizes three main divisions of the subject: Physical Anthropology and Sociology, Ethnology, Archæology. These seem at first sight dry and uninteresting to the general reader. Recognizing this, the exhibit has been so managed that all will be pleased. The Indian villages are near the building, the reproduction of gates, statues, bas-reliefs, and hieroglyphics from ancient Maya cities of Yucatan are directly in front; the costumes and objects illustrating the customs of both living and extinct peoples are within.

Physical anthropology is of more importance to men and women of to-day than either of the other divisions given above. It deals with the present and the past. Many subdivisions might be mentioned, but suffice it to refer to several of the more important—the study of the human body and its skeleton (the cranium in particular)—the physical peculiarities of different tribes compared—the practice of deforming the skull in infancy, etc.

Sociology compares religions, studies folk lore, traditions and superstitions. It deals with society and the mind. At the annual meetings of the American Folk Lore Society many papers are read upon sociology of more than usual interest. Myths have been traced from one nation to another around the whole world.

Criminal anthropology is attracting much attention at present. Not many years ago Lombroso, the great Italian anthropologist, advanced the opinion that crime was the result of disease—that criminals were born—that crime was hereditary. He instituted a series of measurements, which are observed in all large cities and by prison officials, whereby criminals may be identified by more certain proof than by photography. Men have investigated the thoughts and actions of barbarous tribes of one part of the world, and then compared notes with others who studied among savages in other regions. All this study of the mind, of both savage and civilized man, has been largely conducted under the auspices of anthropological societies. In Paris, London, Berlin, Washington and New York are societies whose members are devoted to research.

In Ethnology proper, in both the Government exhibit and Department

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"M," the houses, implements, ornaments, utensils, and costumes of savage and barbarous people are truly shown. A series of groups has been constructed representing the old skin tepees of several Plains tribes. The figures are of plaster and show the facial characteristics of each tribe remarkably well. The scenes, which represent children at play, women dressing hides, hunters cutting up a deer, are strikingly life like, and I can truly say that at no former exposition has been exhibited their equal.

Another display illustrates the manufacture of stone implements. The specimens are in cases, and above each case is a series of photographs and maps showing the various stages in the process of making the implement, and also the quarries from which the stone was obtained.

It is very encouraging to those who have the welfare of this new science at heart to observe the character of the work now being done in the United States. Thirty years ago travellers among the tribes of the West took brief notes, made a few sketches or paintings, and gathered up a collection of gewgaws and trinkets, published books, and gave their cabinets to museums. Then there were no great linguistic maps; no one worked for years on a bibliography of Siouxan tongues; nobody spent several thousands of dollars in a single season's exploration of Ohio Valley mounds and village sites; and, as for criminal and physical anthropology, they were not dreamed of.

What awakened the present prevailing interest? The story is a long one, but I will make it as brief as possible. Fifty years ago, at St. Acheul, near Paris, there lived a man named Boucher de Perthes, whose neighbors said he was crazy. In the early fifties he published a book which was destined to raise a hub-bub in scientific circles and among the clergy. He claimed to find in early quaternary gravels flint implements made and used by an ape-like man. He also found associated with them the bones of extinct animals. For a few years the world laughed, and Boucher de Perthes went quietly about finding the implements. In the latter part of the fifties two Englishmen went to France and helped De Perthes in his investigations. They were both good geologists, and became convinced of the truth and importance of the Frenchman's claim. Supported by men of unquestioned ability, an interest on the part of scientific men was awakened, and similar finds were made all over western Europe. Before his death De Perthes saw, with great satisfaction, quaternary man fully established.

From France the news of the discoveries spread over the world—men became interested in prehistoric times; and caverns, rock shelters and terraces were assiduously searched for evidences. To-day Europe can divide her quaternary man into several epochs, bring him through polished stone, bronze and iron ages, to our present age of steel.

Men naturally turned their attention to kindred studies. Some considered living savages, read about them, dwelt with them. Others studied the wretched, the superstitious, or the peculiar among ourselves. And so the new science of anthropology was established, and given a dignified and important place among the other sciences.

The investigators in prehistoric Archæology have given food for thought to the clergy and to the student, and have furnished interesting data to the general reader. They have filled in the links in the chain of Egyptian history; they have told the Bible student all about the primitive occupations of Palestine, the adoration of the sun, the worship of the serpent and of Baäl. They have given men a pre-Columbian history of Mexico, of Yucatan, of Oceanic Island tribes and of our own Mississippi

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Valley. Their work in the light of modern science is critical, thorough and ceaseless. The savants have penetrated every corner of the globe, and their literature embodies upwards of 20,000 volumes in many languages.

The Smithsonian Institution has faithfully explored, collected and published concerning the ancient remains within the limits of this country. No matter what may be said by jealous curators of smaller museums its collections stand foremost in size and importance. Second are those gathered by Department "M" of the Fair. Here is represented the pre-Columbian life of every tribe of size, from the most wretched Eastern savages, whose oyster shell mounds are so numerous along the Atlantic Coast, to the village sites of the Pacific tribes. From the Ohio Valley there is a great collection. Much has been written concerning the "Mound Builders" and their state of culture. Some have maintained them to have been highly civilized; others have said they were but intelligent savages. All the museums of the Central States are filled with relics from their burial places. The Chief of the Department desired to do away with the prevailing erroneous impression concerning mound-building tribes. He wished to make an extensive exhibit to illustrate the life of the Mississippi Valley tribes as it was. He appointed me as an assistant and told me to find the largest and most promising village and burial site of pre-Columbian times, in the Ohio Valley, and to dig over the whole of it. Accordingly a survey located upon the North Fork of Paint Creek, in Ross County, Ohio. It comprised a good anatomist and artist and several subordinates. There were at this place (the Hopewell Farm) twenty earth mounds of various sizes and two village sites. The group was surrounded by an embankment some four feet in height. Originally the wall stood at an altitude of eight feet. The number of acres inclosed were one hundred and ten. During the course of the explorations we gathered the largest collection ever taken from a mound group. It shed a flood of light upon the primitive occupations of Ohio.

The exhibit includes the concessions of foreign museums. One of the largest displays is that from Peru. The collection of bronze, copper, gold and silver is especially complete. In pottery there is a great variety, varying from minute funeral urns to large jars, five feet high. Most of the pottery is in effigy. The human face sculptures are not grotesque as are those of the Aztecs, but faithfully portray the features of the Peruvians. Thus the pottery is of paramount importance. The mummies comprise three hundred persons. They do not in any way resemble those of Egypt. Those who see the exhibits of Department "M" will better understand the importance and the interest of this new study. It is to be hoped that Americans will take more interest in anthropology. Those who are in the field or in the museum have much to do; they need co-laborers. To the man of means the science offers a pleasant and profitable occupation. He can aid the explorers, contribute to the support of a museum or help a worthy investigator publish the result of his observations. In return for his outlay he receives the commendation of intelligent people, and the assurance that he has taught the world something new concerning man and his works.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

CO-EDUCATION IN THE WEST.

IT IS, perhaps, difficult for persons living in the Eastern States, where the admission of women to men's colleges is an innovation and a hard won privilege, to appreciate the absolutely matter-of-course way in which co-

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education is regarded in the West. Nevertheless, it is in the West, where the experiment has been most frankly tried, that doubts are beginning to arise among those best acquainted with the system.

In the older places it has required a certain amount of courage for a woman to avail herself of the permission to enjoy the advantages of a college or university where men are largely in the majority, and she is apt to be a person who has arrived at years of discretion, who is already well advanced in her studies, and who has some earnestness of purpose. In short, the experiment has not, in those institutions, reached a point where the women as a rule, are really exactly on the same level as the men. Moreover, in such places they are usually guarded and cared for in a way somewhat in conformity with the ideas of propriety that prevail in an older society than that of our Western States.

In order to see the experiment of co-education tried fairly, fully and without prejudice, we should go to a Western college town. There the girls are no older, no more advanced and no more serious than the boys. They all go from the high school to the university. Some colleges have dormitories and boarding-houses for the girls, but the more general custom, particularly in the larger institutions, is for them to select their boarding places quite independently. It is an extremely rare thing for a parent to ask any one to assume the least control over the girl. She would resent it, and it is not considered necessary. She is as independent as her brother, free to make what friends she likes, to keep what hours she likes. Her comings and goings concern no one but herself. Luckily, she generally chooses to do well, according to her lights, but, frequently with the best intentions in the world, she makes unfortunate mistakes.

I believe it is claimed by the advocates of co-education that the system will tend to elevate young men, both mentally and morally, and will especially improve their manners. This latter claim scarcely seems well founded when one observes the extreme familiarity with which the young men in our Western colleges are apt to treat their girl classmates. Doubtless they do not mean to be indecorous or uncivil; they treat women as well as they treat one another, and no better. But, unfortunately, it is just the old-fashioned attitude towards women that is relied on to elevate college men. There are, of course, many who behave with perfect propriety and treat women with all the respect that can be desired, but *en masse* they have not a respectful manner, and instances of ill-bred familiarity can be multiplied by any one who chooses to take the trouble to use his eyes.

In the matter of study, it may be doubted whether the lessons learned by a young man and a young woman, sitting out of doors under the shelter of one sun-umbrella, are really as well learned as they would be under less distracting circumstances. As to the claim that the standard of morality will be raised by the constant companionship of women, I think that any professor who has worked under both systems will say that there is about the same element of lawlessness to contend with in one college as in another, and that gambling, for instance,—the great vice of the West,—is probably not diminished by the fact that women are admitted to the colleges. In considering the effect of co-education on women, it must be understood, once for all, that only the average college girl is considered, and that there are many brilliant exceptions to all that is said of either boys or girls as a class.

In respect to scholarship the girls are on the whole equal to the men, perhaps in some directions superior. Doubtless the circumstance of co-

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education is more stimulating to them than to the men. For this there are various sufficiently obvious reasons. They are in the minority, and they know the usual masculine criticisms of the feminine intellect. So far the stimulus is healthy. But there does exist also the excitement of the emotional nature. I have the authority of a woman, who is a physician and a graduate of a co-educational college, for saying that the conditions are too exciting and the physical strain is too great. Of course there are always idlers who get along as easily as possible, but that is not the class of students whom one especially considers.

However reluctantly one may approach that part of the subject which deals with the relations of the students to each other as men and women and not as students, it is a point that, in any fair consideration of the whole matter, cannot be shirked. Under all the circumstances, how would it be possible that there should not be regrettable indiscretions? In the case of an Eastern college that some years ago opened its doors to women every precaution was taken for their care. They were obliged to live in a building of their own, and were placed under the care of a lady of social position and experience, whose sole duty was to look after them and instruct them as far as they would receive instruction in social matters, and to protect them by acting as their chaperone. And yet, even there, annoying things have happened. Thoughtless girls, innocent in intention, merely ignorant and wilful, have committed acts of indiscretion, the memory of which undoubtedly causes them the keenest mortification. In such cases, if the escapade is discovered, the offenders are promptly and quietly sent home and the whole affair is consigned to oblivion.

If such things can happen under such circumstances, what can be expected where there is no safeguard but the sense of propriety of an unsophisticated and often wilful girl? It cannot be repeated too often that the majority of young men and women attending college conduct themselves discreetly but the minority is large enough to be considered, and many a woman must blush when in maturer years she remembers the escapades of her college life. That most of the girls come out unscathed from dangerous situations is no reason why they should be exposed to such dangers.

The people who send their sons and daughters to college are not in general the ones who know the drawbacks of co-education, but those drawbacks are beginning to be recognized by persons who live in college towns, and particularly by professors and teachers. I do not wish to draw too dark a picture nor to underrate the really good work that has been done by both men and women in our Western colleges. With all their drawbacks, these colleges have been an inestimable blessing, for the conditions of life in a new country were such that in no other way could women of small means have obtained the education that they desired. And the education of the women of the West has been, and will be, a powerful factor in the civilization of the country. But after giving the present system its due, we must still recognize its faults, and it may be that as wealth and civilization increase in the West we shall grow out of this system and found separate colleges for men and women.

JANE COOPER SINCLAIR.

THE SALOON AS A CLUB.

OF LATE years the leading periodicals of the country have published so many articles on "The Saloon," from ministers, doctors and other pro-

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fessional men, who of necessity must give their best thoughts to other and totally different subjects, that it may perhaps be of interest to the public to read something from within the lines; a defence, if you please, of this much criticised institution, by one who for years has necessarily come very *much in contact with it.*

The saloon exists because the public demands it, and for no other reason. It is moulded into shape by public sentiment and by legislation, and is as much the creature of circumstances as is the man who patronizes it. Oppress men and they retaliate by developing qualities opposed to public security and to the development of the higher forms of civilization. Oppress the saloon and it likewise degenerates and retaliates.

If the saloon is an evil *per se*, it will fall before an enlightened public sentiment; but until the public is convinced that it is so all attempts to repress it must fail. While it remains an institution in our midst, a factor in the shaping of our civilization, it would seem desirable that its influence should be for good rather than for evil. For one thing, the saloon should be removed from politics; but this can only be accomplished by relieving it of unjust taxation, by offering licenses freely to all who conduct law-abiding places, and by relieving saloon-keepers of the constant spectres of "High License," "Local Option" and "Prohibition." The saloons should be operated by a better class of men; but this can only come to pass when saloon-keeping is no longer reckoned a disreputable calling. The saloons should observe the laws; but this can be brought about only when the laws are made to correspond with the public conception of right and wrong. The saloons should handle pure and well-matured wines and liquors; but a high license or the probability of a non-renewal of license is a practical prohibition on this point, as a large and immediate profit promises best under such circumstances.

So long as the inhabitants of the United States consume hundreds of millions of gallons of whiskeys, wines and beers annually, the saloon will be retained by the public as the most convenient and agreeable medium, through which to supply its wants. All of this talk of abolishing the saloon and of each man buying by wholesale and mixing his own drinks is the merest nonsense. It requires an expert and an array of materials and conveniences to prepare a cocktail, a mint julep, a whiskey sour or any other of the many beverages so delightful to the average palate, and until something better and more convenient offers, the saloon will be retained to fulfil this office.

Looking at the saloon as a fixture, therefore, is it not best that society encourage those engaged in the business to remove it from politics, and to conduct it in such a way as to improve and not degrade those who visit it? The saloon should be in every sense a club. It should offer seats, tables, papers, magazines and games to its patrons, and incidentally it should serve those who so desire with pure wine, beer or spirits. The saloon should be taxed reasonably and not exorbitantly, and licenses should be extended to all law-abiding men, but never to felons, or to men who disregard common decency. The saloon can be elevated in every respect, and to the great good of society, but it cannot be accomplished by repressive legislation, but by the adoption of a broader policy on the part of the public in the handling of this question and by this means only.

THOMAS MADOR GILMORE.

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